

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIX. No. 2.

APRIL, 1927

A COMPARISON OF CHINESE AND WESTERN CIVILISATION: by an early Sociologist.*

I.

THE records of Chinese authority accepted by scholars like Remusat, Pauthier, and Stanislas Julien, extend, with more or less detail and precision, over a period of about 4,000 years. With the exception of two long periods of anarchy, these records form an almost continuous narrative of political, social, and material progress.

IN early Chinese records we find traditions of an energetic people emerging from barbarism by the usual slow and painful struggles. We find grateful memories of heroes and discoverers who freed their fellow-men from the dangers of the flood or forest, and taught them the first simple arts of sedentary life. We hear of the first tamer of animals, the first inventor of the plough, the first musician, the law-giver who founded the institution of marriage, and the rites of worship, the wise men who fixed the length of the year, and who taught rules for the measurement of the soil. Gradually down the course of the Hoang-ho, and in the country between it and the Yang-tse, this nascent civilisation extended. Political unity there was none. There was a common race, a common language, and something like community of worship; but politically, what we find in the time of Confucius, and even two or three centuries later, is a collection of small principalities, recognising more or less willingly the nominal and honorary supremacy of a dominant family. In the third century B.C., what may be called, for want of a more appropriate term, the feudal system of China, gave place to the vigorous government of Tsin-chi, who may be considered as the real founder of the Chinese empire. Not only did he centralise the government of the eight or nine small kingdoms which had previously recognised his authority, but a vast additional area, the whole of what is now Southern China, was conquered, and brought for the first time within the pale of civilisation. To the north the great wall still remains as a monument of his power. a proof rather than an instrument of the success with which he contended against the inundating forces of Tartar barbarism.

*Adapted from the *Essay on England and China*, by the late J. H. Bridges, in *INTERNATIONAL POLICY*, first published in 1866; republished in 1884, and, long since, out of print.

FROM the time of this great governor, the object has been to develop and extend the resources of this immense region; and with the exception of a disastrous period of anarchy between the third and the sixth century A.D., this object has been pursued with continuous success. The reigning dynasty has frequently been changed. Thrice have Tartar families seized the throne of Peking, but the effect of these dynastic changes upon the social condition of the empire has been comparatively insignificant. The conquerors, whether Mongol or Mantchou, have always adopted and maintained a civilisation, the superiority of which they fully recognised; and the result of their usurpations has been, not that Tartar barbarism has inundated China, but that Chinese civilisation has penetrated into Tartary.

As in political power and vigour, so with regard to arts, industry, and intellectual enlightenment, the stationary theory of Chinese civilisation is altogether refuted by the facts. Continual additions have been made to the inheritance of the past. The invention of paper took place in the second century A.D., that is to say between 600 and 700 years after the death of Confucius; that of printing in the ninth century. The tenth century, in which the intellectual activities of Western Europe were somewhat dormant, was distinguished in China by extraordinary literary development; but some of the best histories, fictions, and dramas, as well as encyclopædias, dictionaries, and other works of erudition, have been written during the two last dynasties.*

*Chinese literature is particularly rich in encyclopædias, both of a special, or professional, and of a general kind. Among the latter that of Ma-touan-lin is the most famous. This author flourished in the thirteenth century. His work consists of 24 sections divided into 348 books. The titles of the former are worth giving, as illustrating the concrete and practical direction of the Chinese mind. The list is taken from the *MELANGES ASIATIQUES* of A. Remusat, vol. II.

1. Division of lands, and their produce under different dynasties; 7 books.
2. Currency, metallic or paper; 2 books.
3. Population, and its variations; 2 books.
4. Administration; 2 books.
5. Customs, excise, octrois, &c.; 6 books.
6. Commerce and exchange; 2 books.
7. Land-tax; 1 book.
8. State expenditure; 5 books.
9. Promotion and rank of magistrates; 12 books.
10. Studies for the State literary examinations; 7 books.
11. Functions of magistrates; 21 books.
12. Sacrifices; 23 books.
13. Temples of ancestors; 15 books.
14. Court ceremonial; 22 books.
15. Music; 15 books.
16. War; 13 books.
17. Punishments; 12 books.
18. Classical books; 76 books. This section is of itself a sort of encyclopædia of Chinese literature.
19. Chronology and genealogy of reigning dynasties; 10 books.
20. Principalities dependent on the empire; 10 books.
21. Astronomy; 17 books.
22. Earthquakes, inundations, and other natural calamities; 20 books.
23. Geography of China; 9 books.
24. Geography of foreign countries; 25 books.

PROGRESS in the general diffusion of knowledge and enlightenment is not less certain. The establishment, in the ninth century A.D., of the system by which offices of state were thrown open to free competition by literary examination, a system the merits and demerits of which need not be discussed here, has given a greater stimulus to study than has ever been applied in any European country. And in no European country, previous to the beginning of the present century, was there so large a proportion of the population able to read and write.

THUS whether we look at the political power of China, at her national wealth, or at her intellectual acquisitions, we cannot but see that the common view, that China is in a state of decline from an arrested state of growth reached twenty or thirty centuries ago, is in every respect erroneous. We see, on the contrary, a slow but nearly continuous growth of this immense organism; interrupted indeed occasionally by dynastic revolutions, but invariably recovering the lost ground, repairing the broken chain of tradition, and adding fresh links.

By what means, it may now be inquired, has this great social fabric been held together? Where and of what kind are its principles of cohesion, its vital forces?

THE centre of a nation's life, as of a man's life, is its religion. What is the religion of China? What is its standard of spiritual health; its ideal of conduct, of duty?

FOR there is a mode of religion in China, which, differing utterly in outward ritual and even in the object of adoration from our own, yet satisfies to a very large degree the essential meaning and true spirit of the word. Amid all the forms of worship which have prevailed among men, whether Fetishist or Polytheist, whether Catholic, Mohammedan or Protestant, one instinctive purpose may be traced, followed out in each to various degrees of perfection. That purpose is to control, to regulate, to reduce to unity the discordant passions of man's heart, by impressing him with the consciousness that he is not his own; that he is not isolated in the universe; that he is indissolubly linked with and subordinated to an external power; a power superior to and unshaken by the conflicting desires of his own imperfect nature. The phases of the world's faith appear to the superficial observer so multitudinous and intricate, that to seek for the law of their formation, the common basis on which they meet, might seem as impossible as to account for the lawless phantoms of the madman's brain, or to follow the endless ramifications of thought in dreams. But attentively considered, while differing not only in form and in ritual, but in dogma, they all agree in this. Every creed, whether it be Indian, Greek, or Christian, so far as it is really and

heartily believed, exercises a strong government over the affections of the soul ; checks more or less imperfectly the self-seeking propensities, and calls forth the aspiring emotions of love and reverence. Therefore religion, under whatever name or form, has always been a source, a two-fold source, of union amongst men. For in the first place, those of the same faith have been ever strongly bound together by a common dogma, a common object of adoration. Secondly, and in a still deeper sense, the unity, the harmony, the concentration, which it is the function of religion to effect in the soul, implies that the lower or selfish passions are subordinated by it to the higher or unselfish. It is a check on avarice, anger, ambition, and the other self-regarding instincts ; which, since they cannot be indulged in by each man except at the expense of his fellows, and since no one of them can be called into predominant action except by forcible suppression of the rest, are a source of disturbance and disunion. It develops and stimulates the unselfish emotions of love, reverence, and pity ; which, though naturally and organically weaker than the selfish, admit of being called into action by all men simultaneously, and are indeed infinitely strengthened by the consciousness of common sympathy.

OBVIOUSLY, the degree of perfection to which this type has been realised has varied very largely, as in different men, so in different ages and countries, and has seldom or never reached its ideal completeness. To secure the supreme object of awakening the latent emotion of reverence, dull and feeble as it naturally must have been with primitive men, savage or nomad, men crushed by the hard necessities of material life, a direct sanction was frequently given by the empirical instinct, of their spiritual guides to some one of the lower and stronger passions, whether vanity or anger or even desire, as in the polytheism of India, or fear of future torment, as in Mohammedan and in most Christian churches, in order that by the alliance of its added energy some effective discipline might be imposed upon the rest. So far as these lower motives have been used, the ideal type of religion, the true government and culture of the soul, has been imperfectly attained. And the imperfection is only rendered tolerable by comparing it with the alternative seen in morbid and corrupt periods of the world's history ; that chaos and anarchy of the moral nature justly branded by former ages under the name of irreligion. The method by which religion pursues her object of securing union among men, the scheme of faith, on which the minds and hearts of fellow-worshippers are fixed, has, it is true, often proved, and still proves, a source of disunion amongst men. But here it is not religion, as in his indignant scorn Lucretius would have us believe, that is to blame. It is that, owing to the unequal stages of maturity to which the human intellect in different nations has grown, the true conception of a dogma in which all men can unite has hitherto been wanting.

The nations of the world differ, as each nation at different stages of its own growth has differed, in their mode of regarding the relation of their own life to the Universe around them. And this difference we may explain by the sociological law* discovered by Comte; according to which all human conceptions, whether relating to the external world or to man's own nature, pass, or tend to pass, with various degrees of rapidity through three stages of development. Explaining phenomena at first by supernatural agencies, and afterwards by metaphysical abstractions, men end in the final or positive stage by limiting themselves to the study of their laws of succession and similitude.

11.

APPLYING this law to the explanation of Chinese civilisation, we find, as we might expect, that the Chinese mind has not yet passed, collectively speaking, beyond the first of these stages; that it still remains, that is, in the supernatural, or, as it has been also called, the theological stage. In this stage the phenomena of nature are conceived to be produced by the agency of affections, of passions, of wills, analogous to our own. But in this phase of belief there are two successive degrees, widely different, yet passing into each other by very slow gradations. In the first, the affection or will is conceived as residing in the object regarded; in the second, as residing outside it. The first of these degrees is Fetishism; the second Theism, whether polytheism or monotheism. To the Fetishist the tree, or rock, or river is animated, like his own body, with vital and moral forces; is itself living. To the Theist it is but dead inanimate matter, moulded by the will of a god.

THE national religion of the Chinese is Fetishism in its most complete and highly-developed form. It is the religion which we find in the primitive history of all other nations, but which from various causes, as yet not known to us, has been systematised and rendered comparatively permanent in China to an extent unparalleled elsewhere. It endows the objects of the surrounding world, the Sky, the Earth, the Sea, the Winds, with the emotions and volitions of the human soul. It is a conception wholly different from that of the Greek or Hindoo polytheist. The polytheist conceives of a visible or invisible being, endowed to an extraordinary degree with human powers, regulating the movements of some particular class of natural objects. He

*Of this law Mr. Mill observes: "It could not easily be conceived from the mere enunciation of such a proposition what a flood of light it lets in upon the whole course of history; when its consequences are traced, by connecting with each of the three states of human intellect which it distinguishes, and with each successive modification of those three states, the correlative condition of other social phenomena." MILL'S LOGIC, Vol. II.

abstracts the properties of those objects, and personifies his abstraction. The Sea for him is not a living creature ; but he believes in the God of the Sea, endowed with its rage, its calm, and its strength. The Sun is the dwelling-place of a bright resplendent Phœbus, not the very deity himself. The Winds are but inanimate masses of moving atmosphere, but they obey the mandates of a personal and superhuman Æolus. But the Fetishist has no conception of the power apart from the objects which exhibit it. It is the concrete individual tree or river which he worships ; not the abstract properties of the grove or of the stream personified in a Dryad or a River-god.

It is on this the primitive religion of mankind, that Chinese civilisation is based. The subsequent phases of belief through which other nations have passed have not arisen in China, and exist there, if at all, yet only as foreign importations, modifying the ancient system more or less, but in no way subverting or superseding it. Theocratic polytheism, as we hear of it in Egypt, Assyria, and Peru, as we still contemplate it in India, forms no portion of her history. The fundamental institution of theocracy is wanting. Society has never been divided into castes. There are no hereditary trades ; no hereditary priesthood ; not even, strictly speaking, that most long-lived of all the institutions of caste, a hereditary monarchy. Still fewer traces do we find of the ulterior phases which in Western Europe have marked the progress of humanity. If polytheism is unknown, monotheism, which is, in fact, its final and most concentrated form, is unknown also. Amidst the religious revolutions which elsewhere have preceded and directed the revolutions of social life, China has been content to abide by and to develop the simple faith of her earliest infancy, the worship of the Sky and of the Earth, the worship of the Dead.

ON the basis of this simple elementary faith a rich growth of noble precepts, of glorious memories, of heroic lives, of sacred traditions, was found possible. Men bowed down before the Sky, nightly and daily revolving its myriad lights around them, as to the highest object of their awe, as to a will more powerful than their own or than the wills that animated the other beings of the world, to whose high mandates obedience or disobedience brought happiness or woe. Next in power was the Earth, the Mother of all living, nourishing her children in their need, and at last receiving them again into her bosom. For the Earth too, like the Sky, was to them a being of like passions with themselves ; a being to be propitiated in yearly season with prayer and sacrifice, and who in her moments of wrath could give by famine and earthquakes plain signals to men and to their rulers that they should repent.

THE truest test of the power of a religion is its power to give calm or comfort in the time of death. And death to these worshippers brought

no terrors. For all matter being conceived by them as endowed with living force, with will, and with desire, they could not understand the rigid line which in more modern thought has separated the living from the dead. That the lips were mute, the limbs still, that the pulse had ceased to beat, that there was no longer any painful murmur of the breath, were doubtless very strange and awful changes. But they were no proof that the pallid form which they loved had ceased to live. They showed only the will of Heaven, that he should be restored to his long home in the lap of earth; there to rest as a new power, an object of reverent worship. They carried him to some lonely hill-summit; trees and flowers were planted there; and it became a sacred and inviolable spot, where the mourner felt the presence of an unseen love, and held sweet yet close communion with those who had passed from sight. There the son came for years to mourn his father, the wife her husband; thither when they died their children followed them; until, when generation after generation had followed one another thus, each mourner became unawares a partaker in the hallowing influence of the Past, and passionate grief was purified and calmed at entrance into the solemn assemblage of the Dead.

AND the whole social fabric of China is in accordance with this faith. In Africa, in Polynesia, and, so far as our imperfect records enable us to trace, in the early history of all civilised nations, Fetishism is found correlated with the simplest possible of social organisations, that which consists simply of the aggregation of a few families, under the direction of their oldest members. In such a society the fetishes or objects of worship may vary not only for each tribe, but for each family, and in some cases for each individual.* As there were no gods, there were no priesthoods; no families set apart from the rest, with a divine right to rule men, either spiritually or temporally. For not even with the imperial family has the hereditary principle been interpreted with nearly the same strictness as in most other countries. In every respect the Chinese constitution of society may be regarded as a gigantic amplification of the constitution of the family. The family is, no doubt, the constituent element of which all societies are composed; just as, in the body, all tissues, nervous or muscular, are generated from the primitive cellular tissue; but whereas in other societies we find differentiation into classes and institutions which have no direct analogue in the family, in China we find far less of this, far more of adherence to the primitive social tissue, to the patriarchal type. On this type the village and the empire are alike moulded. The position of the emperor is not the absolute jurisdiction of a divine autocrat who "can do no wrong"; it is that of the father in a family. Not as the

*The household gods of Æneas or of Rachel illustrate this simple phase and show too its survival amidst more complicated religious modes. Astrolatry, in which the fetishes were necessarily the same for all, would seem to be the transition-stage between Fetishism and Polytheism.

divine high priest, but as the "father and mother of his people" (to use the Chinese expression), does he offer the yearly and monthly sacrifices to Heaven and to Earth. And what the emperor is to the empire, that the elders are in the village. Absolutism has no place in the Chinese constitution. In their religion they have no conception of an absolute power; for the Sky is to them but one among many fetishes, the most powerful, it is true, yet modified by the rest. And similarly, the emperor, the son of the Sky, reigning by its will, has no absolute right except by virtue of obeying its mandates. And this limitation of his power is far from being theoretical merely. In the book of Mencius, one of the four sacred books which are taught in every village-school, and which are in fact the Bible or the Coran of the Chinese, we read the following dialogue:—

"The king of Thai asked Mencius: Is it true that Shing-thang dethroned Kie, and banished him; and that Wou-wang put Cheou-sin to death?"

"Mencius respectfully answered: So history relates.

"Has, then, said the king, a minister or subject the right to dethrone or to kill a prince?"

"He, replied Mencius, who commits an outrage upon humanity is called a bandit; he who commits an outrage upon justice is called a tyrant. Now bandits and tyrants are men whom we look upon as reprobate and outcast. I have heard it said that Wou-wang put to death a reprobate outcast called Cheou-sin; I never heard it said that he killed his prince."

III.

THE briefest notice of Chinese society would be too brief, would indeed be altogether abortive, without some reference to the man to whose heroic and saintly life so large a share of its highest attributes are due. Great men are of their time and of their country. They transcend both, they modify and mould both; but in both they are deeply rooted, and with both they intensely sympathise; even when, like Dante and Milton, fallen on evil days, their sympathy can find no vent but in words of indignation and fierce invective.

CONFUCIUS, or Khoun-fou-tseu, the consolidator, rather than the founder, of Chinese religion and society, was born in the year 551 B.C., and died about the time of the battle of Salamis. His father was a governor of Tseou, a small town in the province of Shan-toung. But his father died early; and Confucius owed his early training to a wise and devoted mother. It was her chief care that he should enter early upon the duties of a citizen; and at her desire he accepted at the early age of seventeen a subordinate office in the inspection of the corn-market. In this and other more important offices he distinguished himself by extraordinary care and vigilance in the detection of fraud, and in the acquisition of administrative details, especially of everything relating to agriculture. When he was twenty-four years old, his

mother died. It had been in ancient times a custom that the son at the father's or the mother's death should retire from public life for three years. Confucius, in whose mind no doubt the germs of this peculiar method of social renovation had been long growing, revived this custom. In those three years of solitude his scheme of life matured itself by meditation and by study of the ancient writings, traditions, and institutions of China. His whole conception was to recall his countrymen to these ancient traditions ; to co-ordinate them into a coherent system, to infuse new life into them, and thus to lay down a definite and firm basis of conviction and of conduct. His time of retirement ended, he spent the next twenty years of his life in travelling through the various principalities of which China at that time consisted. During this period we find him propagating his convictions in every way that circumstances admitted ; often invited to the various courts, where his varied knowledge and his grasp of administrative detail made his services most valuable ; as often banished from those courts when his severe and righteous counsels were rejected ; preaching then to his more intimate disciples, or winning casual bystanders by familiar and Socratic dialogues ; always and in every place holding fast to the great purpose of his life, the consolidation and renewal of all that was noble in the old traditions, the enforcement of this new and yet ancient standard of duty on his fellow-men, and as the surest path to that end, the maintenance of his own life to the level of that standard. At the age of fifty-one, his career as a teacher was interrupted by an earnest invitation from the Prince of Lou, whose affairs had been disorganised by unscrupulous officials, to accept the office of prime minister. He unwillingly consented ; but on the absolute condition that his predecessor in the office should be put to death. Of the guilt of this man there was no doubt ; the only hesitation arose from his power ; but weak philanthropy, where public welfare and morality were at stake, was no part of Confucius' character. After full investigation the sentence was at once carried into effect ; and his energetic and upright administration in a few years restored order and prosperity. At the death of the Prince of Lou, whose successor was of a different temper, Confucius resumed his missionary life. The number of his disciples had by this time increased, and his doctrine had become widely disseminated. The last years of his life were passed in his native province, and were devoted to a more methodic elaboration of his system. They were embittered by losses ; that of his wife, his son, and his favourite disciple, Yen-houei. They were saddened also by the sense, which all the greatest men must feel, of failure and of shortcoming. Giving way for a moment to these feelings a few days before his death,

"The pillars of the house are giving way," he said, "and there will soon be no shelter ; the grass is withering up, and there is no place where to

sit down and rest ; the pure doctrine had altogether disappeared, it was utterly forgotten ; I strove to restore it to its ancient power. I have not been able to do so. Will there be any one when I am gone to take this heavy task upon him ? ”

He died in the 73rd year of his age. He was buried by his disciples in strict accordance with ancient rites. Increasing multitudes flocked every year to his tomb. Every century the influence of his name grew stronger ; and under the Han dynasty, about one hundred years before the Christian era, the worship of Confucius became formally incorporated into the religion of the empire. Under later dynasties these reverential feelings have continually strengthened. The introduction of Buddhism has had no power to weaken them. The descendants of Confucius still live, and enjoy, by a solitary exception, hereditary honours.

THE life of Confucius differs altogether from that of other religious renovators. The founders of the Buddhist, Parsee, Christian, and Mohammedan systems proclaimed new doctrines, which clashed utterly with the accepted faith of those around them. Their work, therefore, was twofold ; they came not merely to fulfil, but to destroy. They brought peace among men, but they brought also division. Their doctrines brought joy and strength to the noblest minds, but set before them a life of defensive and aggressive struggle. Between Buddhism and Brahminism, between Christianity and Paganism, between Mohammedanism and Byzantine Christianity, there could be no peace. And the strife was not merely between their own small society and the government of their state ; it crossed the threshold of home ; it set the father against the son, the daughter against the mother. Needful as these changes were, grand and ennobling as were their results, they were yet attended with the mischief, from which no revolutions can be exempt, of destroying many of the ties which give dignity and stability to human life, of undermining for a time at least the institution of the family, the very basis of all social existence.

CONFUCIUS wrote no books, properly speaking. He compiled and edited in a systematic form, with comments, the ancient traditions, whether historical, poetical or ceremonial.

FROM these works we get a clear conception of his moral system. We find a scheme of life and duty eminently coherent and practical. Of metaphysical speculation, of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, of abstruse inquiry pursued for the keen intellectual pleasure of the chase, Confucius had no conception ; and had it been suggested, he would have utterly repudiated it, as an unwarrantable waste of effort. Equally averse was he to enter unto supernatural inquiries, or to any pretence of possessing miraculous power.

“ To seek the principles of things which are beyond human understanding ; to perform extraordinary actions beyond human power ; to work miracles

in order to have admirers and disciples in future ages ; for this I have no desire."

THE reader of Confucian ETHICS will find growing round the framework of his systematic structure numberless beautiful maxims of practical morality that are often fancied to be peculiar to Western Europe. "The doctrine of our master," said his disciple Theng-tseu, "is simply this : to have an upright heart, and to love your neighbour as yourself." And again : Tsue-koung asked : Is there a word in the language which is of itself enough as a guide for our life ? The wise man answered : "There is the word *chou*, of which the meaning is this : What we would should not be done to us, let us not do to others."

HANDED down as a trust by Confucius to his successors, his doctrines have formed, and still form, the ground-work of the elaborate and comprehensive scheme of education, by which the governing class in China has been trained for its duties. And when it is considered that this governing class forms no aristocratic hereditary caste, but that each member of it has been selected after stringent examination from the students of the colleges and schools which are brought within the reach of every thrifty peasant in the empire, it is a moderate conclusion, that in no other part of the world, unless we except Western Europe in times when Catholicism had not lost its power, have such continuous and systematic efforts been made for the dissemination of moral truth.

IV.

BUT though a movement, and a progressive movement, may easily be traced by observers who are not wilfully disdainful of every mode of civilisation but their own, the broad fact still remains, that such progress will bear no comparison with the marvellously rapid, fertile, and many-sided development which has been visible in Western Europe for more than two thousand years. China could boast of an advanced civilisation of great heroes, and of lofty moralists, before Homer sang, before Troy was built, before the Greek gods had gathered on Olympus. China had an extensive printed literature, and an elaborate educational system, at a time when Christian emperors could hardly read or write. To what cause, then, is it due, that in the extreme West of the Eurasian continent, scientific discovery and material improvement have for some centuries been proceeding with such accelerated velocity, that to superficial observers the comparatively slow movement of Chinese civilisation should have appeared retrogression or stagnation ?

THE explanation lies in this. Western Europe has for nearly three thousand years been the scene of a series of distinct and peculiar social

revolutions in which the other populations of our planet have taken no share. The result of each of these movements has been to develop some one element of human nature to high intensity irrespectively of the rest. Taking a broad view of Western history down to the close of the Middle Ages in the thirteenth century, we find it falling naturally into three great periods, the Greek, the Roman, and the Feudal or Catholic. Speaking with the breadth necessary in the philosophy of history, it is beyond dispute that the Greek period developed the intellect, the Roman period the energies, the Catholic period the affections, to an intensity far surpassing their primeval growth in theocratic or fetishist societies. In Greece, for the first time in the world's history, we see the independent action of the intellectual powers; in other words, truth sought, not for its moral or material value, but for its own sake. Philosophers there had been in India or China; but their philosophy, whether its problems were soluble or otherwise, dealt exclusively with the phenomena of human nature. Physical and mathematical questions were pursued just so far as their bearing on practical life was apparent, and no farther. The scientific man, the type realised in its highest degree by Archimedes, was a phenomenon up to that time utterly without parallel.

THE destiny of Rome was to incorporate the surrounding nations into a political whole, and to disperse through the vast mass the results obtained by Greece. The Roman Empire was the necessary antecedent to the commonwealth of nations, of which Western Europe now consists. The functions of Rome were, as Virgil has described them, conquest, government, legislation. Before these transcendent objects all others yielded. The religion of the Romans it has been well said was Rome. The high culture which the Roman intellect received from Greece was never allowed to be expended in the search for abstract truth. Their intellect, heightened as its powers were, was wholly devoted to the service of the faculties of action. The science of Rome was legislation; her art was government.

BUT while the intellectual powers and the energies of man were strengthened to an extraordinary degree by Greco-Roman civilisation, there was no corresponding development of that side of our nature to which in the normal and natural condition of man the intellectual and active elements are subordinate; that is to say of the effective or emotional nature. The harmony of our nature was broken. The due proportion of its functions was disturbed. The inevitable result was social instability, anarchy, and corruption. It was not that among the Greeks and Romans, there were not many instances of the highest devotion, of the strongest sense of moral duty; but that these instances were on the whole exceptional, that the influences of the time were not such as to favour and increase them.

THEN a great and glorious effort was made to fill the void by St. Paul and the other founders of the Catholic Church. For many centuries the highest emotions of the soul, of love and reverence, were accepted by all the nobler natures as the highest object of life. It would seem that the great problem of the harmonious evolution of man's nature was now to be solved. The increased development of intellect and energy was now counterbalanced by a noble culture of the affections; and a moral power arose in society, the power of the Catholic Church, capable of controlling for a time the coarse passions and energetic egotism of the feudal power. But the success of the attempt was short-lived; and mediæval society broke down, as Greek and Roman Society had broken down, by reason of its one-sidedness. The dogmas on which it rested were incompatible with free scientific thought; and therefore so long as it retained its power, thought was crushed by it. The element of Feeling, which, in the due harmony of our nature, ought indeed to preponderate over the rest, but yet in such a way as to further their free development, was rendered not merely preponderant but tyrannical. The intellect was crushed by it, till it became rebellious; and the practical activities, except during the brief period of the Crusades, found no place in it.

THEREFORE the Catholic synthesis became a ruin; and the last five centuries have, to a great extent, been occupied with the process of its decline. The ascendancy of the kings over the Popes, the English and German reformations, the philosophical movement of the eighteenth century, and finally the mighty crisis of the French revolution, were the chief consecutive stages of the work. It is a period which presents two phases. It has been a time of intense intellectual and material progress. The intellect, freed from its servitude to the heart, left the study of theological questions, resumed the scientific study of the outer world where Greek astronomers had left it, from the inorganic outer world ascended slowly to the world of man, and thus accumulated the materials and laid down the foundation for social reconstruction. But it has also been a time of anarchy, and, in the strictest sense of the term, of irreligion. The principles which bind men together, and by which the individual nature of man has been controlled, have been more and more relaxed. The social doctrine of the individuality and sovereignty of the individual; the moral doctrine that each passion or emotion of our nature whether sympathetic or self-regarding, being all alike "faculties given by God," should be alike recognised and fostered; such doctrines, whether in explicit or implicit ways, have been brought more and more strongly forward. It was inevitable that this condition should last until the basis for a more durable and comprehensive synthesis should be complete. Systems which, like the various forms of Protestantism, used the weapon of free judgment merely to make an arbitrary selection of Catholic dogmas,

retaining some, and replacing some by others equally questionable, were obviously not destined for any but a temporary purpose. The only permanent mode in which harmony can be restored is one which shall restore the intellect to the service of the heart, and which yet shall leave that service free. As the ultimate result of its long period of uncontrolled action, as the highest truth to which its power can ascend, the intellect must recognise its subordination to the moral nature as the normal state of man.

V.

THE respective position of Chinese and Western civilisation is now more intelligible. We have on the one side a more harmonious balance of powers less highly developed ; on the other we have stronger forces emancipated from their primitive discipline and wasting one another in their antagonism, because they have not yet found that higher and more harmonious discipline which awaits them in the future. China offers us the unaltered type of primitive health ; the West exhibits the disease and suffering which marks the evolution to a higher type not yet realised. China has nothing in her annals comparable to the speculative power of Aristotle, the political grasp of Cæsar, the fervid intensity of St. Paul or of St. Bernard, the audacious imagination of Shakespeare or of Dante. But in the person of her great sage she offers perhaps the most perfect type of morality, that is to say, of perfect manhood, that has ever yet commanded the general veneration of mankind. History tells of none in whom such vigorous energies and such high powers of thought have been throughout a long life so completely under the dominion of social sympathies, so continuously devoted to the service of others.

STILL, it will be said the difficulty is not answered ; it is but restated, or at best only put a step further back. The question still recurs, why is it that, while the West has been the scene of such complicated evolutions, the East, and especially the extreme East, has developed, so far, more slowly ?

WITHOUT attempting fully to account for what may perhaps be found ultimately connected with conditions of race, and other conditions of which we are at present equally ignorant, it is yet possible to put the problem in a more intelligible shape, to make it, in short, a case of a larger and more general law. And this is all that in positive philosophy is implied in the word " explanation."

THE modern progress of Europe would have been impossible without the intellectual inheritance bequeathed by Greece. The speculations of Aristotle moulded the theological teaching of the mediæval church. Modern geometry began with Descartes almost exactly at the point

where the geometry of Apollonius left off. Since then intellectual progress has been continuous, and the connection between scientific research and industrial advancement has been too obvious to need demonstration. But the Chinese also possess, and have for many centuries possessed, an intellectual educated class. They have extensive libraries filled with the results of accumulated laborious research. Literature and study are honoured in China as they are honoured in few other nations, since they are made the high road to political advancement. Is there, then, any difference between the speculations of the Chinese and those of Western philosophers sufficient to account for the discrepancy of result?

THERE is this fundamental difference. Those of the first are concrete; those of the second abstract. Every object is an assemblage of various qualities or phenomena, such as form, weight, colour, hardness, chemical composition, &c. In the study of natural objects, therefore, there are two wholly distinct methods. The philosopher may either examine the object as it stands, that is to say, the concrete mass of phenomena which it offers; or he may choose to isolate, to abstract some of the phenomena, as *e.g.*, weight or colour, which are common to it and to other objects, and study its laws, ignoring for the time all the rest. The first mode of speculation, the concrete, is that which arises spontaneously in the most primitive stages of human progress. The obvious material necessities of man in the simplest state of society lead him to make and collect practical observations on the objects around him and on his own organisation. But for all the higher purposes of science the other method is necessary. Each class of phenomena must be abstracted from the various beings in which it is found, and must form the object of special investigation, with the view of finding out the law of their co-existence and succession. Thus we have the science of extension, of weight, of light, of heat, of electricity, of chemical composition, of life, &c. Our intellectual powers are not adequate to arrive at the true object of science, which is the prevision of events, except by studying the laws of each class of phenomena separately, beginning with the most simple, and general, and passing to those which are more complex, special and dependent. Mere records of the past changes of the weather will not lead us to foretell future states of weather. Records of astronomical facts will not lead, except in the most imperfect and uncertain way, to prediction of eclipses. Records of the past history of man will not enable us to prophesy his future. The weather of each day is the result of a vast mass of phenomena, astronomical, thermal, electrical, &c. The modern savant studies the laws of each of these classes of phenomena separately; and then the endeavour is made (however imperfectly as yet) to study their combined action, their resultant. So with astronomy. So inadequate are our powers of studying concrete

masses of phenomena, that we cannot even solve the problem of the mutual gravitation of the sun, moon, and earth, much less of all the bodies which compose the solar system. But by studying the abstract laws of gravitation, by examining the purely hypothetical case of two bodies attracting one another in space, we are enabled to discover the laws which act in so simple an instance; and by means of these to restore the problem subsequently to something like its original complexity. So with sociology. Each community offers a vast mass of concrete details, in which it is impossible to discover any scientific law of development. The first object of the sociologist is to abstract the details of race, climate, &c., and discover the laws of social development common to all. To see how those laws are arrested or developed in any special case is a subsequent question. Thus the grand characteristic of Western speculation has been the creation of abstract science.

IN China, on the contrary, speculation is altogether of the concrete kind. We find vast collections of observations of eclipses, earthquakes, and other astronomical and terrestrial facts, of natural history and of political history. But it is all observation of the kind which in England is called practical. It amounts simply to an accumulation of facts. Of the abstract sciences of geometry, mechanics, optics, chemistry, the Chinese have no conception. They are intellectually far less prepared for it than the Hindoos. And the ground-work of this peculiar mental state has been already described. It has been shown that Chinese religion is an elaborate development of Fetishism, that is, of the worship of concrete objects. The Chinese have never really passed into the polytheistic stage, which is the first great effort of the human mind towards the formation of abstract conceptions. For Polytheism is the conception of a separate power directing each class of phenomena. The student of Greek, Roman, or Hindoo mythology finds a special deity for almost every abstract term. But the very language of China is deficient to an extraordinary degree in abstract terms; and such abstractions as are absolutely necessary for the business of life are expressed for the most part by bold metaphors. Coupled with this deficiency of abstract science, is the absence of the highest kind of poetry. As their science is concrete, so their art is imitative. Of idealisation, which implies the exaltation of certain qualities in the object, the diminution of others, which thus calls out into play faculties identical with those that are required for the highest efforts of scientific abstraction, their art shows few traces.

THEIR highest intellectual efforts have been bestowed on ethics; the highest of all branches of study, the meeting point of theory and practice. The science of morals aims at the regulation of human action, the indication of duty. It implies a knowledge of the "mights of man"; of human organisation, mental and physical; also a

scientific estimate of the society in which the individual whose actions are examined lives. Ethics, therefore, imply previous knowledge of sociology and of biology ; which last, again, involves the study of the physical sciences. It may be said, therefore, that Chinese ethics only share the defect of empiricism and incoherence with the ethical systems of Western Europe.

BUT, it will be asked, since millennial periods of struggle and anarchy of our various faculties have proved necessary in the case of Europe, is there any alternative for China but that of passing through similar subversive stages ? If the Oriental nations are to attain our level, must not the revolution of their moral and mental nature take place also, as with the West, through successive phases of one-sided, disproportionate, and therefore revolutionary growth ? Must not her intellect, too, be awakened by supernatural visions or metaphysical subtleties ; her energies roused by a long period of warlike struggle ; her moral sense deepened, as with mediæval Europe, by the rigorous discipline of spiritual terrors ? Can the gulf which separates her civilisation from ours be overstepped at a leap ?

NOT so. Had Greek civilisation been crushed in its germ at Marathon and Salamis, and the consequent development of Western Europe rendered abortive, the destiny of leading the civilisation of the world would have fallen upon one of the Oriental nations, possibly upon China. And it is difficult to conceive that a stage of civilisation analogous to our own could have been reached in the first instance, without analogous periods of suffering and discord. But supposing the goal once reached, the difficult Alpine road once executed, later travellers pass easily where it cost centuries of toil and loss and painful error to the first uncertain pioneers. The world is so framed that the reward of those who have worked well is received by others. Those who come in at the eleventh hour profit by the labours of those who have borne the heat of the day. Once let the definite solution of our social problems be arrived at in Western Europe, once let the germs of a higher and more harmonious organisation of human life be visible there, and its acceptance by the East will not be long delayed.

BUT till that time be come, the Oriental nations may well shrink from such contact with the West as has hitherto been obtruded upon them ; contact with men who destroy the ties which bind their life together leaving nothing to replace them ; who annihilate their institutions, and call it commercial enlightenment ; who throw contempt on their religion, and call it a preparation for Christianity ; who bring desolation everywhere, and call it peace.

A NOTE ON "RURAL SOCIOLOGY."

THOUGH the phrase "rural sociology" is hardly known outside America, yet there it is well established, and a topic of growing interest in and beyond academic circles. To take the first evidence that comes to hand; one may note in the current number of the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, several relevant items of news. The University of Missouri, for instance, announces the formation of a new department of rural sociology, thus following the lead of several other universities and colleges. *THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE* is recorded as the title of a new work by Dr. H. B. Hawthorne, Professor of Rural Sociology in Iowa State College; and another work is announced under the title of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* by C. C. Taylor of North Carolina State College. We are also told that Professor T. L. Harris, of the University of West Virginia, "will devote his time to research in rural sociology."

USING, anachronistically, the American phrasing, one might claim for Frédéric Le Play, that he was the founder of rural sociology (little though American students and cultivators of the subject seem to be aware of the fact). His initiative work in this field is taken for granted in at least two of the contributions to rural sociology, which appear in the present issue of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*. But, though constant reiteration must have made our readers familiar with the constructive formula of Place, Work, Folk (the social equivalent of the biological formulation of life as interplay of Environment and Organism through Function), yet a knowledge of Le Play's pioneering studies of the fundamental rural occupations cannot be assumed. And yet it is these studies that give concrete significance to the governing formula. Thus, amongst primitive societies, in game-forests man must hunt or starve; on grassy plains he must be a herdsman or starve; in valley hollows he must plough or starve; at river mouth or fiord he must fish or starve. How, through age-long habituation to these rural conditions, through the accompanying struggle for survival, and consequent interaction of rural types, man has become the social animal—or rather the several kinds of unintegrated social animal—he is, has been worked out with some fulness by the Le Play School in France and in England.

It is one of the misfortunes of our science, that these pioneering labours in rural sociology, though continued through two full generations of research, have attracted so little attention, either for use or abuse, amongst other schools. And the resulting deficiency is aptly illustrated in the interpretation of Chinese civilisation, which appears in this number of the *REVIEW* (having been rescued from an apparently forgotten book of essays by the remarkable group of men who introduced Comte's work to English readers). How Dr. Bridges' essay, for all its brilliance and wealth of knowledge, would have gained had

he been familiar (as he might have been) with the more rural sociology applied by the Le Play school to the interpretation of Chinese civilisation! For here the basal facts are neither racial nor climatic nor historic. They are the conscientious and associated labour, and water-engineering, of rice-cultivation. From the mode of labour that goes with rice-planting and cultivating in China are traced the social co-operation and family solidarity so strongly characteristic of Chinese civilisation. Thence also is seen to arise the development of the Confucian ethics of honesty, order, responsibility and sagacity. In this way of interpretation, we see the eternal peasant of China yellowed by his toil amid the dusty, light-coloured soil which also colours the yellow river. We see how Chinese agriculture maintains and develops the patriarchal family, with its continuity, solidarity and sagacious leadership of aged experience. We see how natural, in such a society, is the appearance of pre-eminent sages like Confucius and Lao-tze; and we see other, and indeed correlative, culminating historic types, as in Yao and Shun, the great peasant emperors; each of these being selected by his predecessor in preference to his own son. And, to take one final example, we see the Spring Festival of the Chinese Empire (a ceremony reported to have been recently restored by one of the Northern Tuchuns) reinterpreted as a ritual of natural and national culture. In this ceremony the Chinese Empire appeared, not as a great military power, but as its antithesis, an agricultural patriarchate and matriarchate, wherein the Emperor, in the peasant's yellow, appropriated as the imperial colour, drove the first furrow of the Spring; while the Empress, again typical peasant women, walked beside the furrow and planted the first row of Soya beans. In a word, here was the sacrament of agriculture of a whole people.

THESE interpretations of Chinese civilisation, made on what might be called an ethico-economic basis, are, to be sure, put forward as in no sense contradictory, but supplementary, to those so ably set forth by Dr. Bridges working along the historic and philosophic approaches pioneered by Auguste Comte.

IT may therefore be claimed that, on the assumption of Chinese civilisation being essentially a Peasant one, Dr. Bridges' essay is a contribution to rural sociology. And if so, it may be read in conjunction with others here printed. These include, as well as the Papers by Professor Geddes, Dr. Manniche and "X," a review by Dr. Marcel Hardy of a Doctorate Thesis by Arthur Geddes, and also (in parts) the study of Rome: Past, Present, Possible; and Mr. Betham's and Mr. Fordham's Tributes to Mrs. Branford.

V. B.

THE VILLAGE WORLD: ACTUAL AND POSSIBLE.*

I. A COMPARATIVE RURAL SURVEY.

IN recent papers we outlined views and offered suggestions on the Coal Crisis. These of course have been as yet little considered, since our sociological and civic approaches are not as yet familiar, much less congenial, to the types of mind—those of the pecuniary and the political culture—which have been predominant, both among the disputants and their would-be reconcilers alike. Yet for this very reason, we must here all the more keep at our sociological methods of interpretation and our civic proposals towards practice: hence now some suggestions towards the better understanding and treatment of yet more essential units of every society, than even its coal-mines—the rural villages, in which there quietly goes on the fundamental labour of the nations, and even the mass-life of most as well; while in all cases they are the main nurseries for the recruitment of the cities.

EVERY tourist and motorist knows the charm of the old English village; and can readily understand this as related to its long peaceful conditions; for even in the Civil War, Puritans and Cavaliers respected the towns and villages. Yet in England, too, with its "Black Country" and many kindred desolations of the industrial age, the extreme contrast is also manifested. For long such evil conditions went on spreading further; yet happily we have at length the Garden Village Movement, which has been suggested by the old village beauty and even started to recover it; though as yet applied especially to suburban developments, and next to new towns. Very hopeful also are the new Kent Coalfield villages; sometimes with the aid of a university settlement group towards developing a healthy and happy village life from the outset. All such beginnings are as yet local; but as sign of more general progress the Women's Institutes are spreading through the villages, from Kent to Aberdeenshire, or further still; and though they only started during the war, they already number hundreds in many counties. Here is a really popular movement, bringing the women of each village into friendly co-operation, in which social recreation, conversation, song and music are combined with home arts, and with the discussion of village interests; and hence at once actively concerned with the children, and increasingly reaching the men-folk as well.

*It should be remembered all through this paper that Professor Geddes is writing from the *Collège des Ecoles* in Montpellier; and, that as a rural annexe to the Collège, he has purchased the Chateau d'Assas, some five miles to the north (see the map on page 154). His plans for this Chateau envisage various developments on the "eutopian" lines sketched towards the end of the present paper.—[Ed., Soc. Rev.]

IN such beginnings, have we not the opening of a new social order ? It is long since church and chapel have too much lost their respective leading, and this mostly in favour of the public-house, as for so many the main centre of the village. But now these new social Institutes are increasingly bracing up the village life ; hence abatement of intemperance, and often stimulus to the improvement of the mere pub towards restaurant and café. At its best the pub stood for the discussion of national politics, since from pub to club is but one step, whence it is but another to parliament, and thence even to peerage—whence indeed so long profane jesting, as at "barley-ment" and "beerage." But now the Women's Institute is discussing local policy, and this in its manifold details of betterment. Of course old-fashioned cynics still sneer at all local improvements as trifles, of "parish pump," &c. : but just as good water everywhere means much for national health, so does every other local improvement. Moreover, the women are increasingly getting beyond the men in politics strictly so-called ; for their war-experience is not so easily forgotten, and it leads them to discuss international peace : so for instance it is they who are getting the lecturers from the League of Nations Union, as the pubs never did, nor probably ever will. Such, then, are some of the English examples of encouraging beginnings towards the renewal of village life.

IN the older United States, the village life has largely died out, and in more modern villages elsewhere it has been scanty enough, indeed, has too often scarcely come into being. Yet in late years have arisen many active initiatives. Thus great rural and agricultural centres like Cornell University are finding they can understand and even improve crops and stock more fully than heretofore, as they also begin to survey and to organise the life of farms and villages. Nor is this simply towards advances of wellbeing, through agricultural co-operation and kindred excellent developments, and towards better stock and crops accordingly. For beyond all these there is arising a fresh thought-range, of "rural sociology," with its active university departments, as well as its village groupings. In villages almost without number the school house is becoming "the Social Centre" ; with all kinds of social activities filling its rooms with village classes and associations of all kinds in late afternoons and evenings, no less than with children in their ordinary hours. School gardens too have long been arising ; and now are often growing into what are practically the public gardens of their villages, at times with open air gatherings and music. It is hardly necessary here to point out the social uses and bearings of such village movements.

IN France, despite its magnificent capital, its great cities like Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Lille, &c., and its many historic

and substantial departmental capitals and towns, we have still in the main, as no longer in Britain or America, a predominantly rural nation, with its villagers far outnumbering the inhabitants of all the cities put together. From Lorraine to the Pyrenees, from Brittany to Provence, the tourist finds everywhere in their numberless old villages a varying range of interest, and even charm. Yet this far too much from survivals of old-world beauty; here a fine church, here a striking château, or picturesque domestic group, yet alas! how largely dilapidated! how often far gone in ruin! At any rate too often neglected, even decaying; untidy, even dirty; and thus insanitary, even with crowded and sunless slums, too often as bad as old walled cities can show. This is no mere esthetic and sentimental criticism, but a matter of definite village observation, through fifty years of frequent travel and residence in many parts of France. Wherever we go, is not this, that and the other village along our road far too largely composed of dwellings often from their first building crowded and ill-sunned, defective in sanitation, and now too often out of repair as well? This village deterioration and decay necessarily greatly increased during the war period, just as with the roads, though as to the state of these so much more is heard and done, while for the village so little. Hence poverty, continued by scarcity of men; so that village conditions, bad enough before the war, are not making up to the times. And even the after-war reconstruction is too often disappointing. Again, to a foreign ear, it is one of the tragic intellectual curiosities of France, to hear the continual deploring of the low birth-rate—which other nations are so rapidly following, indeed, at various points already reaching: yet with this the continual ignoring of the appalling death-rate, which in France so grievously exceeds that of neighbouring nations. How amazing that while France has so largely led the world in medical science, as to both fundamentals and applications of the germ-theory, she should continue to furnish the extreme example of well-established culture of tuberculosis germs behind closed windows; and merely from that ridiculous fear of a "courant d'air" which nearly every one expresses, whether in tramway car, or railway compartment, in public lecture or entertainment; and worst of all, in homes, from poison-stoved sitting-rooms to bedrooms sealed and curtained against the fresh air of night. And similarly for the heavy enteric death-rate; again a matter of cultivating germs through neglect of ordinary precautions of cleanliness for water-supplies and in homes. From so many universities, so many schools of medicine, and these as a whole second to none, indeed often leading the world's record, one would expect to find some corresponding leadership, or at least general endeavour, of health-propaganda. Yet this is but sporadic and ineffective, even in the cities, indeed, so far we cannot hear of its adequately reaching the villages at all. That a public-health lecture-room should be itself dirty and unventilated—that the magnificently

skilled and aseptically conducted operation should pass on its patient to a nurse whose professional type and standard may sometimes come very near recalling Dickens' portrait of "Mrs. Gamp" two full generations back, are examples of anomalies that surely cannot last much longer ; but which go on creating and decimating cases of illness in town and country alike.

SUCH comparisons as the above are indeed too easily made in every country, and thus of course also in our own : so let us foreigners learn from what thus strikes us in France to open our eyes more keenly to the defects and needs of our own respective home-lands ; and so get down below all our complacencies of current beliefs, to the facts themselves.

So returning to the British Isles, the English and Scottish public were long familiarised, even from childhood, with the notion of crime as peculiarly frequent and terrible in Ireland beyond the other countries ; and with this the vice of intemperance too, if not others ; while the current impression of the Irishman was also one of unsteady, inconsequent and uncontrolled mind, inferior to those of the proud sister countries, and thus presumably more liable to break down. But when one looks into census and other statistics, one finds that while Irish intemperance has no doubt been bad enough, that of England has been far greater, and that of Scotland much greater still ! Similarly for illegitimacy, for crime, and for mental deficiencies and insanities : in short—roughly speaking, and with broadest impression of the figures—an account much nearer to the actual facts of the three populations here concerned, may be got by inverting the traditional estimate, and so by thinking of English illegitimacy, intemperance, insanity and crime as having been, for the past century or so, nearly twice as bad as in Ireland, and in the respectable and best-educated Scotland, about twice as bad as in England !

FROM the old standpoint of nationalistic patriotisms, it is of course unseemly for a Scotsman to say these things ; but from the later and unconventionalised outlooks of social science with its surveys, it is not permissible to ignore such regional differences : it is a scientific task to note them, to investigate and interpret them ; whence next a practical duty to search out ways and means towards their amendment, with such initiative and example as may be. Again, while Scots and Irish death-rates discredibly exceed those of England, these all alike need working out to improvement in region after region, city after city, and in villages too. Unexpected facts appear on scrutiny ; thus despite the predominantly rural conditions of the Irish population, their tuberculosis rate is highest ; and this more markedly in new decent-looking brick cottages than in the old-fashioned mud-cabins ; for reasons of reduced space and ventilation in the new

dwellings which are easily observed and understood. Again, while the Scottish working classes—first so rural, but now so predominantly urban—have long had the highest literate (and even literary) standard, and also the keenest political interests, as formerly theological ones, their housing is on a standard far below that of the English workman and rustic; and this often in slum-crowdings no better than that of old Dublin, indeed, even in modern tenements too often worse.

WE have thus to recognise the bad elements in each regional and urban survey, and to estimate their significance and result in the national sum. This is the needed diagnosis before treatment: so now coming to this, it is plain we may here profit by shining examples. Of these the worldwide gain from applications of the work of Pasteur is the best known: and after visiting Pasteur Institutes, not only in Europe, but as far away as Palestine or India, and each not unworthy of the parent institution in Paris, one cannot despair of public health. Yet in Bombay, albeit practically the world-metropolis of massacre of the innocents, its 60 per cent. or more of infant mortality, as yet rouse no adequate response, even by comparison with the analogous great seaport of Colombo, with less than half of this. Yet our own European cities are here much behind the best of world-records, that of the peculiarly well-selected, efficient and prosperous population of New Zealand: yet even this rate has been recently and swiftly lowered, thanks to the medical wisdom and convincing popular appeal of Dr. Truby King—the like of whom would be worth untold millions to every country, and to France above all, whose cities and villages are alike needlessly losing so large a percentage of their scanty child-crop year by year.

MATERIALLY the greatest of instances of village renewal have of course been given in the war zone of France, and correspondingly also in that of Belgium, of Poland and other war-desolated countries; yet must we not say in most cases with too little thought of village development, at any rate in any comprehensive way? That the technical equipment and industrial efficiency of Northern France, and of Belgium also, have largely been renewed since their destruction spoliation during the war, is manifest; but that village renewal as a social development has adequately kept pace with these, we do not readily hear, nor can we as yet ascertain.

POLITICIANS of various parties have not unfrequently promised rural betterments, and even attempted some of them. But these at most remain essentially on immediate economic or political lines, and have not as yet developed rural programmes in the full and comprehensive sense; that is with the village as an improving place, for work and for people; and with in every way improving people, improving their work, on their encouragingly improving place. Such a programme

we have above noted as at least incipient in America : it is also implicit in the Irish Co-operative Movement, since the pioneering work of Sir Horace Plunkett and its admirably vital and cultural seconding by George Russell (A.E.), at once peasant and agriculturist, poet and artist, teacher and leader, economist and statesman in one. This Irish movement has of course profited by the example of the rural renaissance of Denmark after its defeat and dismemberment in 1864 : and it is thus fortunate beyond most kindred attempts in Europe, in realising much of the same completeness—that of historic, poetic and national inspiration with moral and educational appeal, and to the adolescents of both sexes, and all with full agricultural skill and able organisation as well. Again, most know the name of Tagore as the illustrious poet in whom culminates not only the language of Bengal, but the literature of India, and with ever widening appeal throughout the West. Less widely he is known as an educationalist, devoting his family fortune, his Nobel Prize, and his literary earnings to the creation of a University ; and this in no merely conventional sense, but in which his ideals are being impressed on instruction and expressed by youth. But he has still to be understood and appreciated—and in some ways best of all—as an agricultural leader and inspirer, applying his life's experience as a wise and generous landlord to the development of that Department of Rural Reconstruction, which is the initial applied Faculty of his University, and which aims at nothing short of leading the village and agricultural renewal of Bengal ; and all this as the essential conditions of its cultural development also. Apart from its one great modern city of Calcutta, so essentially a creation of British government and trade, Bengal is peculiarly a land of villages : so that among all Eastern lands, none can be more characteristic for the movement we are discussing. The latest of our Montpellier doctoral theses is a study of Tagore's region as typical,* and it indicates with care and fulness the conditions of past decline, and those of the needed and incipient reconstruction and renewal. At first sight such description of village evils and discussion of their cure in India may seem far away from our European problems and tasks ; yet that they are suggestive alike towards the understanding and the treatment of Mediterranean France is well evidenced by the recent publication in the *Forestry Journal* of this region of an admirable summary of this thesis by that foremost of pioneers and leaders of its improvement and re-afforestation, Prof. Flahault.

II. A VILLAGE EUTOPIA ENVISIONED.

It is happily true that there begins to grow up a rural sociology whereby, in both East and West alike, we are learning to see the

*Arthur Geddes, *AU PAYS DE TAGORE ; LA CIVILISATION RURALE DU BENGAL OCCIDENTAL ET SES FACTEURS GEOGRAPHIQUES*. Montpellier. Librairie Colin, 1927.

village as the essential unit, and this alike for general study and for careful survey, for specific treatment and for social renewal. For the village is small enough to be intimately known, in place, work and people, and these to the details and needs of housing, and to its occupational and family conditions. Other and kindred villages, too, surround it; several can often be reached with an hour's walk in different directions: so have we not there that elemental field of observation for social geography and social economics—in fact for sociology itself—for lack of which these studies are still making too little progress? In France particularly, we have long heard much of "Regionalism," and always as a movement of real value; yet as making little progress, if not indeed at too many points declining and fading away. Literary and linguistic tradition, legend and story, song and dance, are often treasured: yet is not their disappearance inevitable among the rising generation, unless all these can be brought into fuller relation with everyday life, indeed, into its regular expression, its seasonal continuity, as well as its literary culture and its festival occasions? Social life has to be thus many-sided; so the village is losing its population to the city because of its superior attractiveness to youth, and with serious consequences to the nation, which every thinking person by this time has surely come to see and deplore. These town attractions are many and various, and to youth especially, since not only by openings for work and career, for better wages, salaries and prospects, but for pleasures also, and these of every kind—good, bad and indifferent. The village offers but little in way of career; it even discourages enterprise: but the town opens bright avenues to every line of imagination, and thus with definite beckonings to youths' adventure of life. Young men of course get away far more easily than their sisters: they too seldom return to their sweethearts; and so the worse for each. Yet here in Western Europe, how few know the ordinary village custom of the near oriental countries: that of the youth marrying before he goes off to seek his fortune in town. There in due time, she may follow him; but often too he returns on visits, while wife and growing family remain in the village.

ALL our lives we have read and heard regrets over "the Deserted Village"; but where have we seen serious endeavours in action to delay the current of emigration to the town, much less to reverse it? Such ideas indeed seem "quite unpractical" to most; yet does not every one know that before the industrial age had remodelled life and thought, the country folk knew themselves in many ways better off than in town? Despite the city's attractions, the cultivated gentry and nobles have long preferred to pass a large portion of the year in their country homes. So now, if there is to be anything really worth while in democracy, why not the village folk as well? Let us face this idea and follow it out. First of all, the attractions of the great

cities are not so great after all. Yesterday's Carnival procession in our big university city and departmental capital was a sadly poor affair : too much of mere grimacing without real humour, joy or art ; and thus of the poorest possible value for the thousands of villagers that had come in to see it. Whereas is not the best known and most distinguished dramatic performance of the whole world, in the old country village of Ober-Ammergau ? Such cases of course are rare : that is, have become rare : but as education again becomes dramatic, they will be common ; and in France of all countries there is enough dramatic talent to set its villages going. With the progress of wireless, the school-house or village hall can now have the best of all Europe's music to choose from every day. Next why not make some of its own music ? Why not cultivate its local possibilities, as of old, and often far greater than it knows ? What prima donna of the last generation has been more famous than Madame Calvé, once a country girl of this region, singing its old songs from her heart, and then after her world conquests, returning to settle beside her village to train its young folks to keep the old folk-songs going. Is not that a fine career ?—and though an unusual one, yet in principle a normal one ? After all see how often a successful man retires to his native village, and of course how much oftener men dream of this. There, in fact, was the prime inspiration to Mr. Carnegie to make his fortune : indeed, his particular case is here significant for the man. For the little Dunfermline mansion-house which Carnegie first knew, was acquired in his early boyhood by a *nouveau riche* who closed its beautiful park and dell, previously the town's pride and pleasure. So Carnegie made himself the owner in time, and gave it to his fellow-citizens.

HERE, indeed, is a great point for the remaking of country towns and villages—the acquirement of some fine old country-house or château for its culture-centre, and with its many uses. That a beautiful dwelling has an educative and refining value for its inhabitants is surely one of the oldest and best-known facts, and hence one of the main ambitions of all prosperous classes, indeed through all past times. Here, in fact, is a bit of sound old social economics, with its understanding of real wealth as for use, and not merely as matters of exchange. In such homes in fact aristocracies are founded, educated and maintained. So what better than now to democratise such conditions ? Even in the conventional and conservative relations of a great proprietor with his village, the park and gardens are often enjoyed not a little by the villagers ; and the house with its treasures and pictures may often be opened to them too. Why, then, should not each village aim at acquiring a mansion for itself ? Does someone ask—How can it afford it ? Answers are obvious—for one thing, how did it build its fine old church, so often far costlier than the great houses of its day ? By desiring it of course ? Mansions too were

never so often for sale ; and though many go to the new rich, they seldom bring such great prices as of old : and there are not a few owners who would rather deal with their village, and be paid by the proceeds of a mortgage, plus the difference by instalments. Imagined even as a new and better public house, it should not be too difficult to pay for it in a term of years. How many villages and townlets might also each evoke its adventurous young Carnegie, and even business group of them, determined thus to make the fortune of their home town or village, even at the subordination of their own ? Again, what excellent objects for testators ? And why should not the National Trust—an excellent organisation, and rapidly growing too, though still but in the day of small things—thus open a new and vast branch of business, that of acquiring and holding mansions for the use of villages and towns ?

OF all kinds of property, parks and gardens are among the most easily shared with one's neighbours, even without loss to oneself. Hence every college opens its gardens to all comers and loses nothing thereby. Lifelong experience of a peculiarly bright-massed botanic garden close beside a big day-school has shown the writer how children can be trusted. Not once in a year does a child take flowers, and then the right treatment is of the simplest—to ask " Why did you not ask for flowers ? Here are more for you, but do not take them for yourself." I have known no garden better preserved than that of a school in the very poorest and roughest quarter of a relatively backward industrial city. In England cherries are dear because we grow few, and timidly cover them with nets against birds and boys ; but in Northern France they are cheap because they grow so many that no small dilapidation matters, and not less than fruit, flowers are worth and with this our little college here with soon room for millionaires, to give away in numbers. At our château the village needs a new road, and this may best go through the wooded park : so making this practically a village park, and with a school garden. Parts of the old fortress-enceinte are now in other hands, but why should we not have an annual historic procession all round these old bounds as part of our village fête ? In the University we seek to appreciate nature and history and art ; but there mainly with books and in dull class-rooms : whereas in park and château they are living and real, so that here the village has the best of it. Again, in such a once great castle, with nearly a thousand years of history, one feels it has always cost the village dear. Those mediæval towers, that stately eighteenth century palace, were no small task to build, no small burden for the villagers to maintain ; and though it escaped burning at the revolution, its broken and battered blazon testifies to the widespread revolt each château helps us to understand. Is it not time, then, that this and many other châteaux should begin making amends to its village, and become no

longer an agency of impoverishment repression and depression, as too often and long, but now with every possible endeavour towards the reverse ; in short, as village centre of a new kind, and towards its common good ?

HERE " the practical man " (and we have him in the village as well as in town) will protest that " all such things will cost money." To make the new road may be done on ordinary public-road-making lines, but to clear up the neglected old park and its paths for the public, and improve its shrubberies and walls for public pleasure too—as why not with open air gymnasium and tennis-court at one end and with dancing green at another, and why not even an open-air theatre too—here, obviously, we might spend a good many thousands of francs ! Yes on old conventional lines : but if our capable young people care enough for their village to join in doing all this by degrees in leisure time, all can be done, and at no outlays to speak of. The village has already its band, and even its dramatic company, so why not its improvement association ? Boy Scouts and Girl Guides may here find field and scope for all their activity and initiative.

FOR ordinary village meetings there is the Hôtel de Ville, and the school also ; but for more social gatherings the château or its gardens are of course more agreeable ; and so for gatherings and meetings between country and town. Within such easy reach of a great University, what better field for a start of University Extension, or Université Populaire at least, since within easy reach of our village with its population of about 400, there are as many as five or six others on the average as large. So from what Faculties may we not draw suggestive stimulus—as from our needs of hygiene and sanitation to the varied range of art and history which even our immediate neighbourhood shows, let alone its wide landscape and its longer holiday excursions. Is it said that our villagers have not learned to appreciate beauty, whether in landscape, in architecture, or their details ? Such statements are exaggerated : still let us begin anew to share and freshen vision together—and even with all appliances and helps towards the art of seeing : thus the Camera Obscura, the handy and portable convex mirror, and other devices dear to the old painters, can assure to many a magically rapid initiation. In botany and zoology, in geology too, and meteorology also, we shall find some interest as soon as we can bring in the right leadership of our experienced nature-lovers. With the local practical problem of afforestation, of which the needs and possibilities, yet also the difficulties, are here so manifest, we enter upon geographic, historic and social discussions on the largest scale : and why not before long on something of action too ? This step, from discussion to action, is what the politician, with his large aims, has no means of making, until he convinces his public—and so gets his majority, and his party into power ; and so—perhaps—

his desired measure passed, and then applied—not always adequately after all! A long story—indeed a succession of stories—and thus reaching the desired end in few cases, and these too slowly. Whereas on our small village level, after all but little beyond the domestic one, yet public too, we are still in touch with the ancient village wisdom; and thus we know its parables, as of the sower and the leaven, to be as true to the life and growth of our small initiatives as ever; for such methods are surely no less workable here to-day than in Galilee of old.

EVERYWHERE we see waste land waiting for trees, from roadside strips to interminable expanse of moors, and plainly making sign to every passer-by—come plant me, come plant me! And with what trees, from fruit to timber—here almonds or olives, there planes and pines. How best to do this, and at each point most fruitfully and most beautifully, most usefully and so most profitably too—offers many a good line of discussion on the local survey map and constructive plan, which should be on the table at every meeting of the village Association. Again, how finance forestry? when it locks up capital so long, and with return so slow of beginning? Yet over against such difficulties to individuals, see the needed arrest of further regional deterioration, and the steady improvement not only of the region afforested, but of the lands sheltered and kept moister below. So here we begin to see how to devise some fresh development of real saving and of life insurance—in fact, why not afforesting Insurance Companies, with their profitable return a generation hence? With such sound and ever-appreciating family provision as timber gives (quite the opposite of money, ever depreciating) there also goes regional and even national appreciation as well: for if Madame la France, in her present after-war pecuniary embarrassment as scantily skirted as can be her daughters, had robe and train of growing forests thousands of kilometres broad and long, would not her credit rise accordingly in all the world's eyes? To any modern mind, accustomed to the ordinary concepts of energy, and of this as conserved or dissipated, and with social wealth or waste accordingly, it is no small marvel to see how the traditional economic interest, in individual scorings of gains and losses of points and money counters in the great pecuniary game, still so generally blinds its players in market and exchange to the realities of the physico-economic world, which these money notations too often disguise rather than express. Even historians and teachers of economics, in explaining the advance made by Adam Smith beyond the Physiocrats in appreciating industries and exchange as in their way no less productive than agriculture, still commonly fail to do the latter justice, by realising the growth of our cultivated plants and trees as nature's essential way of seizing the sun's energies, and yielding them to our needs of life and use, and thus as the wealth-creative process par excellence. But with this idea once fully grasped in education, we shall not only have

Arbor Day as one of the great festivals of childhood, but its essential idea carried out with regional and civic foresight, and as one of the best of aids to agricultural regions and populations alike, even to profitable utilisation of agricultural spare time, and also active increase of rural population thus from forestry to village arts and crafts alike. Here, too, is provision for town needs, and alike for fuel and timber. This way lies national wealth, and yet more speedily national weal, of health and beauty, of recreation as well as labour.

At all such points and many more we see vast possibilities for such beginnings in our village ; with lines of education and action thus coming together. The social and political outlooks of our villagers would thus no longer be lagging behind those of the great cities, but getting beyond them ; indeed, even guiding them towards a truer understanding of politics and this even on the large and national scale, indeed up to policy of world-reconstruction, through active international co-operation in peace. From the planting of the nearest waste corner or roadside to re-afforestation, and this from our own islands throughout the Empire, and from all the Mediterranean lands to Asia is the very type of progress in social education at all its levels, and this both for thought and practice. The ascent is unbrokenly clear from our children planting their first saplings to the coming international co-operation of true world-statesmen to arrest and as far as may be reverse the long deterioration of our planet, by man's improvidence in past and present, and thus redeem it not a little both from barren desert and from malarious decay. That politicians of any and every party from oldest to latest, as yet think so little of afforestation, is indeed a marvel ; since here—and par excellence—is conservation for the conservative, yet also socialisation for the socialist (since forests, of all cultures, do best as public properties, from village to town or state). And so on for every party at its best.

OUR subject is still far from exhausted : we have but glanced at some of its many openings : yet enough here if we have seen these as leading towards the survey of our villages, and these from venerable survivals, however sadly deteriorated, through many and too often inclement circumstances of change, to their present condition—in so many ways needing renewal, yet as we have also seen, admitting it, even inviting it. What better field then for social studies ? And what more definite and practicable for corresponding action ? And these in that intimate correlation, of observation and experiment, of diagnosis and treatment, by which sciences and arts advance. Our village is thus no mere Sleepy Hollow, but our latent Eutopia ; and that most simply realisable, and in most encouraging measure. For though it needs much, both of thought and action as well, these alike can be far more readily initiated and applied than in the larger world ; and yet in ways reacting suggestively and vitally upon this as well.

P. GEDDES.

LIFE IN A HIGHLAND GLEN.*

I. THE BACKGROUND.

THE politician and the sportsman, the folklorist and the geologist, the cyclist and the mosquito all make a summer hunting ground of the Highlands. The land and the people cry aloud for the descriptive sociologist capable of discerning the essential and richly varied data. It is a radical mistake to think of the Highlands as exhibiting anything like a homogeneous and uniform social formation. There are not only many characteristic types of agricultural and industrial society differing widely among themselves, but there are also in each of these various groups many different types of family. All these variegated phenomena composed of survivals, decompositions and re-crystallisations are eminently deserving of systematic description, authentically recorded, and oriented to the social stratification of Britain. To get anything like a comprehensive idea of the contemporary condition and recent history of the Highlands it would be necessary to monograph not only the different types of family still surviving, but also, as far as possible, to reconstruct the family history for some generations back. There are still many hardy old octogenarians alive through whose instrumentality this could be approximately effected. But as these patriarchal links become broken, it grows increasingly difficult to maintain a connection with the past, for in a disintegrating society, like that of the Celtic Highlands, the body of tradition—both legendary and family lore—rapidly diminishes and may even touch vanishing point. Folklorists and balladmongers have in this way saved from oblivion products of the Celtic imagination, but no systematic attempt has been made to utilise as instruments of historical and social research, the disappearing Celtic patriarchs.

ON the slopes of the Grampians there are many glens where a combination of pastoralism and agriculture is carried on at altitudes of between one thousand and two thousand feet: crops of oats, turnips, and clover are grown on the thin soil which covers the floor of the valley and runs some distance up either slope—the sunny slope alone being usually cultivated. Above the level of the cultivable soil there

*This outline sketch of preliminary data for a Regional Survey has reached us from a contributor who wishes to remain anonymous. He explains that it was drafted about 1895 and put aside for a future elaboration, which is not now likely to occur. We print the paper for two reasons. First it sketches, in section, an outline of Highland life as it appeared a generation ago; and the condition of things to-day probably is not widely different. Next the paper illustrates the Le Play method at a phase of its development, where the details of family life tended to obscure the general picture of dramatic interplay between Place, Work and Folk. Was it not to this overemphasis, somewhat fixed in the monographs of *La Science Sociale*, that we must attribute, in no small measure, the arrest and decline of the French School that took up, and for nearly two generations continued the Le Play method and tradition?—Editor, SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

is the hill pasture with its scanty herbage and often abundant heather ; and finally there may be a still more elevated region of rock surface with practically no covering of soil. On the summits of some of the higher hills a few dwarf willows or birch trees may struggle into existence and reach a full-grown arboreal maturity of less than a foot in height. But there are vast surfaces of bare hillside which might be clothed with a covering of larch and fir, if landlords had as much care for the planting of trees as for the stalking of deer.

IN a certain one of these high altitude glens (which it would not be discreet to name) there are at present half a dozen farmers, cultivating between them less than three hundred acres of land (the average holding is about forty acres) with hill grazing for about five hundred sheep in all. The rest of the glen consists of peat bog, deer forest and grouse moor. Less than a century ago there were—one is told—nearly a hundred crofters in the glen, each cultivating from five to fifteen acres of arable land and with extensive grazing rights in the hill pasture. There is one old man of eighty still alive—the eleventh son of a crofter—who declares that his father kept five hundred sheep on the hill. While the grazing rights have been so extensively curtailed the game and forest rights of the old crofters have completely lapsed—a charge is even made, nowadays, for the use of fallen trees for firewood. The present tenants are too effectually cowed ever to dream of hooking a salmon, shooting a stag, or even snaring a hare. The penalty of poaching has been wont to be more drastic than eviction—it has been banishment from the Highlands, a system of terrorism made effective by a kind of tacit conspiracy of Highland lairds. The army of gamekeepers that patrol the large estates is really an arbitrary private police force in the hands of the landlord group. Game is so strictly preserved that the rods and guns actually brought into play are quite unable to keep the numbers of salmon in the streams, and deer on the hills, down to a healthy level. Some of the salmon streams are so congested with fish as to become a prey to the diseases of overcrowding. Some of the deer forests are so over stocked that artificial winter feeding is necessary. Moreover, gamekeepers are made to violate their humane instinct by orders to thin the herds by the shooting of hinds in winter during the period of gestation. All this goes on in districts where there is an industrious population, many of whom are unable to buy fresh fish or meat more than once a week, or even seldomer. There is a certain wealthy nobleman who owns a large estate in the Highlands, the shooting and fishing of which he retains entirely in his own hands. In order to increase the feeding ground of the deer, his tenants have been forbidden to keep any sheep at all. As a *quid pro quo*, rents have been reduced about one third, but since more than half the profits of farming come from sheep, there is, as one of the tenants remarked, less of *quid* than *quo* in the arrangement. His ten weeks' sport in the Highlands

probably costs this nobleman many thousands a year over and above the return from agricultural and house rents yielded by his Highland rentals. He is believed, however, to save a few shillings annually by buying hay in Holland, instead of locally, for the winter keep of his red deer.

MEANTIME, sporting values have risen with the acceleration of ground rents in an American mushroom city. Here is a typical instance. Thirty years ago the proprietor of a small stretch—about a mile—of a certain Highland stream used to count himself lucky if he could let the fishing rights for the season at a rent of £20. His son receives to-day about £500 a year for the same fishing rights—a rise which in municipal economics would be called an unearned increment of two thousand five hundred per cent. in a single generation. It is the same in regard to grouse moors and deer forests, though there is some indication of a backward movement at the present moment (1895-6) in the sporting rental of deer forests. Nevertheless, the maximum price of £7,000 has been paid this year for the three months' tenure of a Highland shooting.

AGRICULTURAL rents, too, have gone up by leaps and bounds, though, to be sure, the limit here is naturally less elastic. An octogenarian shepherd, of the aforesaid glen, declares that the whole and sole rent paid by his great grandfather for cottage and croft consisted of two lambs a year. But the old customary dues, whatever their value and amount (and they were undoubtedly tolerably heavy in some instances) were lightly borne because freely given to a fellow kinsman, who, as Chief of the Clan, stood in paternal or fraternal relation to its members. During the prescription of the Chiefs after "the Forty-five," crofter rents were frequently paid twice over, once grudgingly to the English Government and a second time, willingly, to the secret agents of the expatriated chiefs. The old clan feeling is so engrained in local habit and custom that it still seems to be part of the *genus loci*. There are districts where few if any of the old clansmen survive, and where the landlord is altogether absentee or non-resident for ten months of the year, and yet there exists a personal respect, even reverence, for him as hereditary chief, so real and intense as to make it a living mode of thought and not a hollow maxim—that the laird can do no wrong. If things go amiss, the Factor is held to be the culpable party. It happens sometimes that the doings of the laird in London or abroad are too scandalous to be blinked. In that case the blame is cast on his English wife! When all else fails to exonerate a vicious landlord they sigh and say, "Ay, but his father was a fine gentleman."

THE half dozen farmers in the glen at present pay an average rent of something like thirty shillings an acre for their arable holdings—the hill pasture being regarded as thrown in with the farm. This figure is not

far from being a rack rent, when one takes into consideration the nature of the soil and the special risks of farming at high altitudes—nearly a quarter of the grain crop, for instance, is needed for seed. The fixity of tenure enjoyed by the old crofters, with the right of transmitting to an heir both cottage and croft (along with grazing and forest rights), is generally replaced by a yearly tenure, so that the hill farmer is virtually a tenant at will—most frequently the arbitrary will of a town-bred mercantile factor. In the transformation of the Chief into landlord, of crofter into tenant farmer, of traditional dues into competitive rents, there has generally been an intermediate stage in which rack rents have preceded the change of fixity of tenure into tenancy at will. The relations of the old clansmen to the Chiefs in regard to ownership of land were, as in all pastoral or semi-pastoral societies, entirely traditional and fixed by no documentary evidence. It was of course otherwise in the case of estates forfeited by political offenders and sold or given away by the Government. But as Anglo-Scotch law gradually invaded the Highlands, the lairds in general were not slow to seize the opportunity of reading into the ancient customary relations the interpretation of statutes favourable to themselves. The work of the Crofters' Commission largely consists in adjusting a compromise between the old customary relations and the forced statutory impositions of the landlords. In the early part of the nineteenth century rack renting had become very general, but the old fixity of tenure widely persisted. With their primitive system of farming, and with the diminishing of hill pastures, the crofters probably relied extensively upon subsidiary industries carried on in association with agriculture, in order to meet the increasing exactions of the lairds. For those of the islands and of the coasts, fishing was available. But the most lucrative bye-industry was found to be the illicit distilling and smuggling of whisky. In a similar economic crisis the Swiss peasant or the German bauer would have devoted his spare time to the elaboration of new mechanical industries. But the Celt, as everyone knows, is more contemplative than laborious. In the smuggling of whisky he had a trade adapted to his natural inclinations. Well-nigh every crofter acquired some direct or indirect trading interest in an illicit still stored away in secret recesses of the hills. Innumerable stories tell how the Excise Officers were wont to be outwitted, or even at times of excitement, inveigled into mountain fastnesses and murdered. A common practice consisted in buying barrels of beer for re-sale, but meantime changing the contents for whisky. A serious obstacle to the trade lay in the risk of conveying the produce of these illicit stills into the towns. This difficulty was occasionally met by a device which could only be repeated at long intervals—a bogus funeral procession (a great affair in the Highlands), in which the coffin contained smuggled whisky. It is not suggested

that the illicit whisky trade in the Highlands originated as a means to enable crofters to tide over a crisis of rack renting, but that this was a true cause of its wide extension and mercantile development, and that it enabled the crofters to prolong their hold on the soil against the encroachments, on the one side, of deer foresting and on the other, of capitalist farming. A parallel economic phenomenon was observable in England during the great rise of rents and growth of capitalist farming in the 17th and 18th centuries. Many small agricultural holders held their ground with a tenacity only intelligible on the hypothesis that they paid their rent out of subsidiary industries—mainly spinning and weaving, which were carried on by the women of the family habitually, and by the men in winter and at other times of slack work on the farm. Such at least was the theory which Thorold Rogers was led to formulate by his unrivalled researches into agricultural history. A similar economic interpretation, it is contended, may be given in explanation of the extraordinary growth of whisky smuggling in the Highlands, during the last quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th.

II. A FAMILY SURVEY.

THE following is a brief and very incomplete account of one of the half dozen families inhabiting the glen, of which some description has been previously outlined. The family consists of the father, J. M.; mother; four sons varying in age from nineteen to five years, and one daughter, fourteen years old. The family between them do the entire work of a farm of about forty acres arable with hill grazing for two or three score sheep. J. M.'s father was a rack-rented crofter who had been forcibly deprived of every prescriptive territorial right, except fixity of tenure. As the land around the paternal croft gradually went out of cultivation, by the deforcement or voluntary exile of his neighbours, it became increasingly difficult to keep the deer out of the crops. At that time there were none of those costly six to eight foot wire fences, which the business-like exploitation of deer forests to-day permits and enjoins. M. well remembers how his father and elder brothers used to take turn about to sit up all night in order to scare away from the growing crops the deer, which ought to have stocked the family larder; and whose pursuit, in the olden time, had reared the ancestors of the family into a bold and hardy mountain race. On the death of M.'s father none of the brothers were prepared to face the artificial difficulties of cultivating the croft. The family was broken up and dispersed. The cottage which had been their home for untold generations fell to pieces—a heap of stones to-day marks its site—one of those undesigned tombstones which everywhere defaces the Highlands. The croft went out of cultivation, and the

addition of a few acres to the feeding ground of the deer, permitted, perhaps, the increase of the herd by a single stag, which, at the present fancy rentals, might mean an increment of some £20 or £30 to the letting value of the deer forest.

M. HAD five brothers. One of them emigrated and is now a flourishing farmer in North-West Canada ; another enlisted in the Black Watch ; a third became a clerk in a railway office and was until his premature death a short time ago, a leader of metropolitan journalism ; two others disappeared without leaving any trace. This is not the typical case of a broken and dispersed Highland family. The typical instance would have included a Presbyterian divine, eminent for poetry and rhetoric ; a Glasgow policeman ; an impressionist artist, and an Aberdeen scavenger. J. M. himself is characterised by a dogged industry and a power of application which are more Saxon than Celtic. He accepted a situation as labourer on a neighbouring estate, purchased in the fifties by an English millionaire of exalted rank. For nearly a quarter of a century M. remained in this situation. During all that time he tramped five miles to his work in the morning and the same distance back in the evening. As a fact he inhabited a cottage (the only one available) that stood within two miles of his work ; but a stream, twenty to thirty yards broad, cut off direct access. The mantle of General Wade has fallen on no successor. Bridges, like wind and watertight cottages, are a rare luxury, and this in a country where rivers are everywhere, and a day without wind or rain is something to be talked about. The titled millionaire refused permission for a ferry boat for the use of M. and other workmen, ostensibly because of the dangerous nature of the current, really for the sake of stricter game preservation.

M. WAS paid by the day, at the rate of three shillings a day in summer, and half-a-crown in winter, which averaged about sixteen shillings a week all the year round. If stress of weather or other cause stopped work before two o'clock, only half pay was given for that day. His cottage with small garden cost M. only £1 a year rent, but the expenditure under that head was really doubled by the obligation imposed on the tenant of executing house repairs at his own expense. With the exception of milk and butter (purchased off a neighbouring farmer), and eggs and vegetables (produced at home), all foods of whatever kind had to be purchased at the nearest village or in the district town. The village is five miles distant, and the town (the terminus of the district railway) thirteen miles. Thus the cost of all commodities was considerably enhanced by extra freightage, in a hilly region where the carriers contend with special difficulties at all times and insuperable ones often in winter. Two years ago the hamlet was cut off from all communication with the outside world, except by sleigh, for three

months. A single visit from the nearest medical man at any time costs the family a minimum of ten shillings. The staple diet of the family was made up of oatmeal (cooked in various forms), milk, vegetables, soup, and dried fish. They also had cheese, wheaten bread, jam, honey, butter and occasionally butcher meat. Such were the conditions under which M. married and brought up a family. His children are all remarkably well grown and healthy. Their large limbs and ruddy cheeks are very far from suggesting what is actually the fact, that in many of the healthiest districts of the Highlands, the diseases of congested city life—consumption and insanity—are rife.

M. EARNED his sixteen shillings a week from the pocket of the titled millionaire by twelve hours' labour a day in summer, and ten in winter, to which another two to three hours per day have in reality to be added on account of the morning and evening tramp. On Saturday afternoons and summer evenings he cultivated his own garden, kept the cottage in repair, and looked after his bees. Several hives of bees, tended with great care and skill, yielded him two to three hundred pounds of rich heather honey every summer, which he sold at prices ranging from one shilling and a penny to one and threepence per lb., and made a net profit thereby of £10 to £15 a year. His wife assisted in the care of the apiary: she was also responsible for the poultry. Mrs. M. further increased materially the family revenue by taking in lodgers. Frequently there were building operations going on at some one or other of the shooting lodges in the neighbourhood. Like the suburban "cottage," the Highland shooting-box tends ever to grow larger and luxurious. Masons, carpenters and other craftsmen, temporarily imported from the cities, have to seek lodging accommodation in the peasants' cottages, sparsely scattered over the countryside. Mrs. M. sometimes has as many as four lodgers at a time, who usually paid from eight to twelve shillings a week for food and shelter. She calculated that the actual food of each workman-boarder cost her about seven or eight shillings a head. The higher prices thus represented a profit of three or four shillings a week—if, as in the case of the bees, no charge is set down against attendance and superintendence. The cottage had a kitchen and another room on the ground floor, and two very small attics in the roof. When four lodgers were accommodated, the canons of decency were observed by arranging that the mother, daughter and youngest child slept in the cupboard-bed of the kitchen, the father and three sons in the other downstairs room, and a couple of lodgers in each attic.

By unremitting industry and extreme thrift the family managed to accumulate in about a quarter of a century savings amounting to nearly £300. A year ago from the present time there fell vacant one of the small hill farms, made by the coalescence of three or four crofts,

which had defied the encroachments of the deer forest and had remained in cultivation. M. offered for the tenancy of the thirty acres arable, with its small area of hill grazing, and was accepted as yearly tenant at £45. He embarked his small capital in the purchase of farm stock and implements. Three cows, a couple of horses, a score of sheep and two pigs (with the bees and poultry transported from the old cottage) made up his farm stock at starting. Very little machinery is used in these small farms. A reaping machine has this year for the first time been seen in the glen. It is doubtful if the enterprising farmer will profit by his innovation. The uneven surface of the soil, and the numerous outcrops of bed-rock, to say nothing of the myriads of loose boulders that encumber most of the cornfields, militate against machine cutting. Though scarcely able to parallel the case of the Irish peasants who in the 18th century had to be restrained by statute from fastening their ploughs to horses' tails, yet some of the agricultural methods recently surviving in this Highland glen were antiquated enough. Several of the present inhabitants say they have seen a wooden plough in operation. The wheels of hand barrows are still, like those of the ox carts of primitive Aryans and of contemporary Portuguese peasants, just a rude section of a tree trunk. The traces of former tillage called Elf-furrows, on uncultivated hillsides, were formerly accounted for by a legend that the Pope laid an interdict on the land but forgot to curse the hills, so the people took to cultivating them. This, however, is an almost extinct myth, even where the population is still three-fourths Roman Catholic. But it has to be borne in mind that in decaying societies superficial appearances are very illusory pointer-facts, for it is often difficult to distinguish survivals from reversions. Thus the recent use of wooden ploughs, instead of being a direct survival, may have been a reversion to an obsolete custom, necessitated by the difficulty of getting iron after the local blacksmith had been "cleared out" of the glen—a common experience of wholesale Highland evictions.

In the disposal of his capital M. had no need to set aside a reserve for the wages of the first year, as the whole of the work is done by the family. The mother and daughter have charge of the cows, pigs and poultry, in addition to the ordinary routine of domestic duties. During harvest time the key is turned in the front (and only) door, and the women join their malekind in the fields. Between the hay harvest, usually in July, and the corn harvest, sometimes protracted till November (by which time the grain may be half eaten by sparrows, so that the natives remark with grim humour, "What a fine crop of straw!"), there is a slack period in which the father and the two eldest sons frequently hire themselves out as ghillies, to drive grouse or deer for the sporting tenants of the district. For this they receive an average wage of four-and-sixpence a day each, and a midday meal.

The driving of grouse on Highland moors and hills is a very different occupation from beating an English pheasant covert. It means a tramp of perhaps thirty miles over bog, boulders and heather ; and in addition to the risk of being peppered by the shooters, the beater may get lost on the hills if a thick mist descends, which is as likely as not. But the men are fond of ghillieing, as it is a change from the routine drudgery of the farm, and there is always plenty of whisky supplied, or the expectation of plenty.

ALL this summer M. himself has laboured with his own hands on his farm from 5 or 6 a.m. to 9 or 10 p.m., with only the shortest breaks for meals, snatched at irregular hours and at such moments as the chances of varied work seem to dictate. Of the male members of the family he, though fifty years of age, is invariably the first to begin and the last to leave off. His wife's hours of work are even more formidable. There are times when she does not get the last milking over till ten o'clock at night. But all the same she never fails to have the family breakfast ready by six o'clock the next morning. As the father takes on himself the main burden of outdoor work, so the mother does the same indoors.

THE system of cropping is practically confined to oats, turnips, grass and clover, arranged in a six-year rotation. The rigours of climate, to say nothing of foreign competition, make it unprofitable to grow wheat, and of doubtful profit to grow barley—the frosts of spring being especially fatal to wheat. Like other hill farmers, M. has neither the capital nor the knowledge to carry on the feeding of cattle for city markets. Supposing they had, it is doubtful if the thing could be done with the poor grass lands at command. As it is, they often experience much difficulty in keeping animals through the winter. Many sell off most of their stock in the autumn. A proprietor who recklessly tried the experiment of keeping a fine herd of cattle through the winter without artificial feeding, suffered a shocking experience. An imperious and arbitrary man, who never brooked interference or disobedience, he gave the command to his factor in the autumn and then went south himself to winter, as was his custom. On his return next summer he found only half the herd alive, and those mere skeletons ; the rest had died on the hills during the winter—literally starved to death.

LIKE his neighbours, too, M. makes use of little or no artificial manure. In the lack of this there is an agricultural retrogression from the custom of the past generation. More than a third of his arable land is under turnips this year, and the whole crop threatens to be consumed by "finger and toe" disease, or "club foot," as it is often termed in England. The specific for this devastating disease, it is well known (though M. was ignorant of the fact), lies in correcting the acidity of the

soil, which favours the growth of the fungus, by the use of lime. Asked why the farmers of the glen did not spread lime over their land, M. replied that there were two causes which prevented them continuing a custom practised by their forefathers. In the first place, the local limestone pit, he said, had been closed up by the landlord so as not to depreciate the sporting value of the moor. In the second place, there was no longer anyone in the glen who knew how to burn lime! This cessation of liming is all the more striking because there are three or four lime-kilns in the glen, which were in use in the memory of some of the present inhabitants. Here, then, is a genuine case of an art actually lost and forgotten by a community within living memory. The essential condition of the retrogression is seen to be a rapidly dwindling population. It is a striking example of social isolation in the Highlands, that lime burning is still practised in another glen a few miles further up the main valley.

At the best, even if his crops do not fail and he has all the luck which the horse-shoe nailed on the barn door is expected to bring, M. has a difficult task before him in the endeavour to extract from the soil, with his limited means and primitive instruments, the wherewithal to pay his rent and live. It is not hard to believe him, when he declares, that in taking the farm he was influenced not by a desire to increase his fortune, but to save himself the long walk to his daily work, and to provide a more stable home for his family.

X.

THE RISE OF THE DANISH PEASANTRY.* (Continued from the previous REVIEW.)

IN tracing Danish industrial history, it is found that during the first decades that the peasant was free, he had no qualifications enabling him to utilise the great possibilities opened up by the reforms. The leadership of the practical work did not rest with him, but was in the hands of the large estate owners and interested people outside the farming classes. It was among the big landowners that an interest in agricultural theory was found, and officials and people from industry and commerce, together with the larger estate owners, were behind the formation of the first agricultural societies. The most thorough guides in practical agriculture before 1850 were written by clergymen; and the series of publications which appeared in the thirties and forties describing farming in various districts of Denmark came from the pens of men belonging to the same circles.

THE first tendencies to independence among the peasants were noticed in the shape of a class movement having for its purpose the enabling of tenants to become freeholders. At the same time there was economic progress among the peasants, which set free some of the strength which hitherto had been completely absorbed in the struggle for daily bread. The men who did not belong to the farming class began to retire from the agricultural societies, of which, from the fifties, the peasants not only became members, but also began to be represented among the leaders. A growing feeling of independence and an increasing confidence in their own powers characterised the peasantry during the first years of the free Constitution, especially after the defeat of 1864. Soon after 1800 a number of philanthropically minded men—outside the peasant class—formed savings banks for the support of agriculture. In 1850 there were 37 of these banks, in 1865 there were 76, and in 1886 there were as many as 496. The direction of these banks almost everywhere came into the hands of the peasants.

BUT just as this movement towards independence was in full swing, the Danish peasant class was thrown into a very severe economic crisis. The crisis and its causes were common to several European countries. In the early seventies, the countries round the Black Sea and the Baltic deposited their increasing corn stocks in the West European market. The result of this was significant; but yet more so was the fact that, a few years later, the enormous corn production of countries overseas—especially of North America and the Argentine—filled the European market, and forced the price of corn below that of the marginal corn production of the old European countries.

*Based on *The Folk High-Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community*: by Holger Begtrup, Hans Alsler Lund, and Peter Manniche. Oxford University Press).

DENMARK was injured more than any other country, for its agriculture was concerned essentially with corn production. But whilst in several neighbouring countries new tariffs were erected to protect the hard pressed agriculture, such measures were not adopted by Denmark. The peasants understood the meaning of the falling prices and altered their methods. They decided that corn should no longer be used for export ; instead, it should be used as fodder at home ; it should be converted in butter and bacon. They saw quite clearly that the breeding of cattle and swine should be extended, and dairying started, and field crops adapted accordingly. With unique ability and alacrity, the Danish peasantry obeyed the demands of the new circumstances. The exportation of corn ceased, and cheap foreign corn was imported. Butter and bacon became Denmark's chief export articles and, to this day, Danish agriculture is based on the foundations laid as a result of the total change of methods in the eighties.

HAD the Danish peasantry, with stubborn conservatism, held to the old methods, it would have meant economic ruin for themselves and for the country ; that is, of course, if the State had not intervened. The peasant, however, helped himself. In the numerous co-operative organisations which then came into being, he created a firm support for the new system. He was open to new ideas, and willing to apply them. The mobility, the capacity, and the culture that such a radical change calls for, when it is to be made by voluntary effort, the Danish peasantry then possessed ; and the fact is certainly due very largely to the influence of the Danish folk high-schools. The schools enabled a sufficient number of young, liberal-minded men, to grasp the importance of the new course of events, and, after a short period of training, to take up responsible positions as leaders of the new co-operative organisations.

WRITING on the subject, one of the leaders of the training of young farmers under the auspices of the Royal Danish Agricultural Society, said : " The pupils who now apply for admission to our school of farming stand, in respect of both knowledge and intellectual development, on quite another level than did past pupils. During the last seventeen years I have examined from 110 to 130 diaries written by our pupils ; therefore the opinion I have formed as to the development of the pupils is more than a mere impression. If I compare the diaries of the first five years with those of the last five, I might easily be led to suppose that many of the present pupils came from quite another social class than did the majority of those who were here during the first years. . . . I believe that this development is chiefly due to the activity of the folk high-schools. The positive knowledge they give to the students during one or two courses of five months is, perhaps, not extensive or of fundamental value. Yet I know how quickly an energetic and gifted person from eighteen to twenty years of age, with a desire for learning,

can make good the difference between elementary and secondary education. What is most important, however, is not the amount of knowledge the students acquire, but the fact that the young people get mentally and emotionally roused. They may forget a deal of the instruction, but they leave the schools different people, having learned to hear, to see, to think, and to use their powers."

WHAT was true of the period of the agricultural crisis has been true up to the present day. The old students of the folk high-schools have led the way on the technical side of agriculture; they have controlled the numerous organisations which have promoted improved farming. They have controlled not only the agricultural and co-operative societies, but also the associations of smallholders which sprang up in large numbers at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the new century. They have been the men who, in the work of local government in the rural districts, have led and controlled.

IN considering the technical progress of agriculture, it must be noted that, after 1864, agricultural schools were founded for the purpose of providing the young peasants with instructions in agricultural theory. The total number in 1920 was 13, to which must be added four schools for smallholders. All the schools were, practically speaking, established by old pupils of folk high-schools, and were inspired by the same spirit as that of the folk high-schools. To the present day there has been a close connection between the two groups of schools. During 1921-22 the agricultural schools had about 2,000 men students as compared with 3,500 in the high-schools; and of these 2,000, 800 had first attended high-schools, and several hundred intended to become students at the high-schools later.

ALL sides recognise that these schools afforded valuable help to the Danish peasantry during the years of the economic crisis. Professor Sir William Ashley recently expressed the opinion that it was the high-schools which gave the Danish farmers the intelligence which caused them to change their agricultural system, and continuing, he wrote: "But it did something larger than that. . . . It put a new spirit, a new sense of independence, a new hopefulness, into the peasant class. It stimulated activity and promoted perseverance because it awakened them to the possibilities of their position."

THERE is obtainable in Denmark a biographical encyclopædia which, however, is not yet complete. Its principal feature is the biographies of persons who, in recent times, have distinguished themselves in Danish life and activity. The great majority of these men were students of folk high-schools and the agricultural schools, and include 109 farmers who became the leading men of modern Danish agriculture. They are men who have been occupied in the practical work, in co-operation, in

the life of the agricultural unions, and in the domain of politics. Four-fifths of the leaders of the rural workers have attended the schools.

In the Danish "Who's Who," the 1923 edition, there are 126 biographies of men who have lived in agricultural circles, and over two-thirds of them are old students of the schools. What is true of these men, whose names are known throughout the country, is true also of those who, in parish and country, have filled positions as leaders; statistics and popular judgment tell the same story.

P. MANNICHE.

(To be continued.)

IN MEMORIAM: MRS. BRANFORD (SYBELLA GURNEY).

I. A SHORT VIEW OF HER CAREER.

IN the following tributes, mainly from the hands of Mrs. Branford's colleagues in the various activities to which she gave herself, it will be seen that her work was a continuing alternation of what might be called pure and applied sociology. The writing of papers and making of addresses, interpretative, expository and propagandist, went hand in hand with the labour of initiating, organising, administering movements which were the practical endeavour to give life and reality to theory and ideals.

HER method was well illustrated in reference to the Sociological Society. In January, 1910, she contributed her first article ("Civic Reconstruction and the Garden City Movement") to the REVIEW, and from then onwards she not only read many diverse papers to the Society, but wrote book reviews and articles. She became a member of Council; as Hon. Secretary of its Cities Committee, she organised an active movement for the promotion and advancement of local Civic Societies; and, most significantly, in 1920 she seized the opportunity afforded by the general interest in after-war reconstruction, first to suggest the idea of Leplay House as an Institute of pure and applied sociology, and then from its start onwards till her death she continuously devoted time and thought, money and energy, to its organisation and development.

It will be seen that Mrs Branford made the progress from Economics to Sociology which increasingly marks our era. It is true that the classical culture and ancient philosophy of Oxford days remained always the substantial background of her mind. But after passing through the School of *Literæ Humaniores*, she took up economic studies while still at Oxford, and was deeply influenced by John Stuart Mill's plea for voluntary co-operation. It was not however the Distributive side of co-operation that appealed to her, but the Productive, so well exemplified by the clothing and boot-making workshops and factories set up by groups of working men in Leicester and other towns, but above all in Kettering, where this type of production has become the dominant industry of the town. Immediately upon leaving Oxford she associated herself with such practical efforts, and also with their theory and propaganda as developed by the Labour Co-partnership Association. At this double enterprise she continued to work with professional persistence. But a militant mind moved her ever onwards.

WITH increasing experience of the problems and tasks of Productive Co-operation and Labour Co-partnership, it became clear to her that other approaches must simultaneously be made. Hence, without diminution of activities upon the work to which she was already committed, there grew, first a specialised interest in Housing and Education, next in Town-planning and Garden Cities, and finally in the vast complexities of City Design and Rural Development. Thus the limits of Economics were more and more transcended; and, in disillusionment with all current political philosophies, whether of conventional or insurgent type, she turned to Sociology for the theoretic guidance which the practical handling of these larger issues demanded. But social science, even when stirred by moral aspiration, she found inadequate without the moving impulse of religious tradition. Hence the sustained effort of her later years to bring into working unison the scientific and the religious approaches to that fulness of life which is at once personal and civic. Of many essays, addresses, and endeavours to this end, a paper to the Sociological Society in 1921 is printed below as but a sample, and though theoretic in form, it had the practical purpose of leading to a series of conferences between sociologists and theologians. This paper has appeared in the REVIEW merely in brief abstract. Of the other two papers, both hitherto unpublished, here appended, one ("Freedom of Thought") is her last, having been written from the sick bed from which she never rose; and the other is an address at a Conference she organised at Kettering in 1925 between the leaders of the Co-operative undertakings there and various members of the Cities Committee of Leplay House. This conference, though of special appeal in consequence of her long attachment to Kettering, was a move in the larger campaign she organised for the promotion of Civic Societies throughout the country.*

TAKE the view, as she did, that the ceremonial sanctification of dedicated sacrifice is the core of religious tradition, then her joyous, life-long devotion to public interests (and especially to those of the working classes), without thought of recognition or reward, becomes the intelligible procedure of a rational mind. The cheerful dissipation of a considerable private fortune in the early experiments, whereby Public Utility Societies (a phrase she introduced to English usage) gained their experience in the business of ordered collective housing in town and country, was symptomatic of her generosity in the lavish expenditure of personal energies for the general welfare. Of these pecuniary sacrifices she neither complained nor boasted. They were

*The three posthumous papers above mentioned, and planned for inclusion in this *In Memoriam*, are, for want of space in this issue, held over, and will appear in the July issue of the REVIEW. It should also be mentioned that a memorial volume is being prepared, under the editorship of Mrs. McKillop (Librarian of Leplay House); and it is hoped that this may be ready for publication during the present summer.

accepted as incidents in a purpose to be achieved. But the financial experience thus gained, being illumined by critical reflection upon banking operations observed in London and in New York (whither she several times travelled), became a main source of essays, addresses and endeavours towards a more social use of Bank Credit than at present prevails. In bringing the technique of Credit, and its uses and abuses, into sociological discussion she was a pioneer (the first of her papers on this subject was presented to the Sociological Society in 1914), as in some other fields where signal advance requires a combination of knowledge and intuition with force of character and generosity of spirit.

THE technique of credit and the promotion of Civic Societies were, for her, related through other concepts, which, at first sight may seem remote from both. But reflect that Bank Credit, in modern life, is an alluring short-cut to fortune. He who masters its technique is, potentially, the rich man reprobated in the Gospels, approbated in the world. The temptations of wealth therefore concentrate in uses of credit, which may be abuses for fellow citizens. For, do not the private fortunes, made (as most are to-day) by credit operations, too often turn out to be public misfortunes?

BUT suppose the thaumaturgy of credit be applied, under religious impulse and scientific direction, to civic purpose! Truly a large supposition! Yet, surely, a valid one for the sociologist who combines the religious and scientific traditions united in the personality of Mrs. Branford. It was this daring synthetic idea that moved her, first, towards a critique of Bankers, Financiers and their credit organisation; and next to constructive proposals for a more social use of that bank credit, which, in essence, is public credit. Assuredly it followed that one might work, hopefully because efficiently, for the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, through a credit system directed not only to maintenance of homes, villages, towns, cities and their peoples, but also, and supremely, to their sanctification. Thus in Mrs. Branford's scheme of pure and applied sociology, it was through the intermediacy of such concepts as the Holy Family (incarnated in our neighbours), the Sacred City (expressed in our own), the Village Renewed (here and now), that the technique of credit was linked with the promotion of Civic Societies, since these again, for the good Christian, aimed at nothing less than the making of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

V. B.

II. IMPRESSIONS AND RECOLLECTIONS.

From MR. RAYMOND UNWIN (Chief Technical Adviser for Building and Town Planning, Ministry of Health).

IT was in connection with the building of cottages by the Co-partnership Tenants at Letchworth that I first came to know Sybilla Gurney, and found in her a valuable ally for inoculating the housing movement with town-planning ideas. The Co-partnership enterprise, in its first development at Ealing, was of necessity an experiment in house building and collective owning. At Letchworth it came into contact with town planning, limitation of density, and large scale site-planning and development, affording quite new opportunities. To this work Miss Gurney brought a cultivated mind, having the rare capacity to see both the wood and the trees, and to realise the relation between them. While fully equipped for thinking in abstractions and taking broad and comprehensive views of life and progress, she never lost touch with the concrete. She thought (in her own phrasing) of "the liberties we enjoy" rather than "a vague abstraction called liberty." To her, community meant "this actual community of Richmond" or what not, and she preferred "neighbourliness" to "the colder and vaguer term philanthropy."

PLENTY there were in the movement who also saw the concrete house, but some saw little else; and failed to realise its relation to other houses, street, and open spaces, and its entire dependence on how these were planned and treated. Others there were who saw the wider and more theoretical aspects of town planning and garden city development, but who failed to realise fully the dependence of these on the concrete houses and living people who were to occupy them. I think it was as a link between these two types of person that Mrs. Branford performed so useful a function, thereby exercising a unique influence which won for her the respect and affection of all.

IN the Co-partnership movement she certainly was a power, always working for appreciation of the broader considerations of planning and social relation, and the value of amenities and beauty in human life. In the wider Town Planning movement her influence again was exercised in the direction of broader outlook, and to the need to think always of actual things and places and living people. She realised the danger that Town Planning might merely mitigate the inconvenience of the overflowing urban areas, while doing little or nothing to bring into harmony the country and the town, the peasant and the artisan, or to increase for both the possibility of the good life. For her influence in all these directions, she will long be remembered with gratitude, as one who played an important part in stimulating and guiding the movement of civic revival, which includes a fuller study of environment

and the application of thought and design to mould it as a fitting background for life.

FROM PROFESSOR GEDDES.

MRS. BRANFORD has been from her youth one of those still too rare social workers who know they also need to think ; and further, one of the too few thinking people who realise that the better their ideas, the more they need to be worked at, and towards useful applications. This exceptional unity, of serious thought and effective action, was plainly yet deeply rooted in her, from the good old village and parish life of rural England, each at their best ; and from her early Oxford training she had clearly and permanently realised the historic, social and religious harmony of these. Many good and cultivated people share these traditions, but do too little with them : whereas the distinction and intensity of her whole life and character turned on her power of seeing that the essentials of this old rural culture are needed anew, to fill up the tragic deficiencies of the industrial and urban world. Hence her early and lifelong devotion to the housing and town-planning movements, and these as strengthened by co-operation in its various forms. Her social sense, her civic insight, gave her intelligent understanding of many towns of different times and types, as from industrial Kettering to old-fashioned Richmond ; and she was thus by turns equally at home in advancing their respective needs, and in getting their citizens to see them. Yet with all this insistence on practical betterment of place, work and people, she realised, and to a rare degree among such practical minds, the urgent necessity of a general sociology. She thus appreciated her husband's strenuous and varied labours towards social interpretation, and as ably aided his practical endeavours ; so that Leplay House, in both its aspects is largely her monument. She had also a studious and reflective, a critical and constructive mind of her own ; as indeed is evidenced by those of her too few papers, here printed. And do not these show her wide and ever-growing range of knowledge, with social reflection and interpretation ? In brief, then, besides all personal regrets for a lost friend, we have also to deplore the premature loss of one of the efficient social students as well as workers of our day. Whom shall we find to take her place, either in her studious or her practical life, if not in both together ? Yet this combination of insight and purpose, of intelligence and constructive activity, is of the very nature of woman at her best ; so let her example inspire others.

FROM MR. T. S. DYMOND (Mayor of Hastings).

ON coming to Hastings, Mrs. Branford threw herself energetically into the work of the Christian Social Service Centre, and became Secretary of its Housing Committee and member of its Executive.

Her particular contribution to its work was not so much the investigation and amelioration of particular cases of bad housing (though she by no means neglected the observation and estimate of actual housing conditions), as the attempt to mould public opinion by giving them a glimpse of the City Beautiful. At her instigation, the Centre adopted proposals for an Exhibition of Hastings, Past, Present, Possible, on the lines of the one she had organised at Richmond, and for a Regional Survey. Unfortunately neither proposal materialised before her last illness, but the Town has acquired the "Introduction to Regional Surveys," of which she was joint author, for reference in their public library, when the Survey can again be taken in hand. Through the Centre, too, she helped to interest the public in the Town Plan, which since her death has been completed, though her love of the beautiful was too strong for her to sympathise with the clearance of some picturesque old property, as desired by the Sanitary Authority for the improvement of the Town. It was on Mrs. Branford's initiative that an appeal was started for the preservation from building of the Fire Hills, the gem of the coast scenery in the neighbourhood of Hastings. These "Hills" have now been acquired as an open space for the enjoyment of the public for ever, and form a fitting memorial of her civic service during her residence among us.

From MRS. MARY HIGGS (Founder of the Beautiful Oldham Society).

It was a glad day for the Beautiful Oldham Society, when, two years ago, we were able to welcome Mrs. Branford and some of her colleagues from Leplay House, as also representatives of various Civic Societies throughout the country, all of whom she had convened for a week-end conference at Oldham.

IN the infancy of our Society, she had spoken for us as Miss Sybella Gurney at the beginning of our Garden Suburb, the pioneer Co-partnership Suburb of the North of England. It was a joy to show her and her friends the completed work. Her brightness and appreciation of our labours, along with her flow of useful suggestions for civic development generally made the days of this second visit eventful no less than on the former occasion. She left us a memory of joyful enthusiasm and keen interest in every development of beauty or usefulness in town life. Especially on the Sunday evening in intimate talk with Guide and Scout leaders, she seemed to bring with her the atmosphere of perpetual youth. There was a touch of religious enthusiasm in her appreciation of Beauty as equally an end in life as Truth and Goodness. She made us feel immense possibilities in the blossoming of life, if only each one of us took, as a personal possession, our available environment and loved and handled it in the civic spirit. It is hard to miss so rare a personality.

FROM PROFESSOR MARGOLIOUTH (Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford).

MRS. BRANFORD's death is a painful blow to the large circle of those who were honoured with her friendship or came under her influence. Since the time when she was a student at the University, when we first made her acquaintance, my wife and I have always felt the deepest respect for her great qualities of mind and character, which steadily ripened, and proved so effective in the enterprises for social reforms in which she was engaged. I feel we have lost one of the most gifted of our countrywomen, distinguished no less by personal grace and charm than by loftiness of ideals and clearness of vision.

FROM PROFESSOR L. T. HOBHOUSE (Professor of Sociology in the University of London; formerly Fellow and Tutor of Corpus College, Oxford).

MY acquaintance with Mrs. Branford began in 1893 or '4, when with another woman student she attended my lectures at Corpus. They were the first women to join any of my classes, and their presence seemed in those days an interesting novelty. Miss Gurney became acquainted with my wife, and a friendship resulted which survived the breaking of intercourse by distance, being founded on common interests, a sympathetic outlook on public and social questions, and more particularly on problems of housing and amenity of surroundings, in which they had a special and lively concern. They shared the direct practicality in sense of values in the things closely affecting human happiness and misery, which is perhaps the most important corrective that women's minds bring to bear on the more abstract and legalistic methods on which men are wont to judge public affairs. To both the idea of redeeming human beings from misery and squalor was no external interest that might be taken up and dropped and taken up again as occasion served, but a passion which was an integral part of the personality and endured to the end.

A NOTE ON STUDENT DAYS.

By Miss CAROLINE HUBBACK.

So vital a personality will always retain many of the characteristics of youth, and in trying to register memories of the student days of her whose friendship it was my privilege still to share as life went on, I realise how the qualities that won our love and admiration were always there, to undergo ripening with years, but never a trace of hardening.

SYBELLA GURNEY entered the Royal Holloway College in 1887, although with a mind already formed under the influence of a much-loved father by what was, for a schoolgirl, a quite unusual acquaintance with the best English

and French literature. She was advised to read for a classical degree which for her, as for many women students, meant facing all the difficulty of beginning Greek after school years. It proved for her, however, almost as if she came into her own; and after a short time, her musical reading of Greek was the envy of many a less apt student; and even more remarkable was the ease with which she used to catch the meaning of a difficult passage; indeed over and over again it seemed as though she had absorbed into herself much of the imperishable spirit of Greece itself. In her the eagerness of the student was accompanied by a certain poise which gave her whole personality, even then, that distinction and charm which all those who knew her will recall. In the same way a marked independence of spirit, with an active championing of the rights of students, was balanced by an almost passionate loyalty to the College and to the authorities.

ALL the influences she came under in those years went to strengthen that love of beauty, of truth, and of justice, which was hers by nature. It may be, too, that something in the very position of the College, set on a hill, "in a clearer air," with all the joys of field and wood and river below, contributed to that "nurture of the soul" desired by Plato for the youthful citizens of his ideal state. So at least we used to like to think over our reading of the Republic in our last year of College life; and with all the ardour and confidence of youth we used to look forward to the time when we too, so reared, might have some part in the shaping of the new commonwealth.

It should be explained that Holloway College was at that time an isolated foundation and not, as it has since become, a constituent college of the University of London. Students followed either the London course, taking the external degree given by the University, or took such Oxford examinations as were then open to women. Sybella Gurney elected for the latter alternative; but as the final part of the Classical Honour course could only be followed at Oxford, she proceeded there in 1892, to attend lectures for the necessary two years, and then took the Final School of *Literæ Humaniores*. In addition to classical studies, her characteristic eagerness of mind found scope in the discussions of philosophical subjects which were a part of the tutorial system. She defended J. S. Mill against the criticisms of the Kantians. Some instinct, I believe, led her to identify his doctrine with those ideals of social reform and of an enrichment of life for all, which were already taking hold on her generous nature, more and more impatient of the cramping individualism of modern life.

THERE can be very little doubt, however, that the decisive direction of her energies for many years to come came about, when, late in 1894 she met at Mrs. Arnold Toynbee's some of the pioneers of the movement for co-operative production, or labour co-partnership. The occasion was an informal discussion, and I well remember the rapt attention with which she listened to the speakers and her pertinent questions. The impression made was deep and lasting. She threw in her lot with the movement, and the full powers of a mind, already recognised by all who knew her well to be one of unusual calibre, were devoted to this aspect of reform.

OTHERS will speak of her many activities, with their unity of purpose; the times I spent with her in after life were usually holiday times in England when work was set aside, and long walks taken, either in the much loved New Forest or in some other part of the southern counties. At such times she would talk, always with an astonishing humility, of her own work, or with fervour of the work of others whom she admired and trusted, of old days

and old friends—she never “shed” friends or forgot those divided from her by time—then again of rural planning and preservation of the countryside, and of her wider hopes and ideals for England. Her characteristic absorbed silences, too, I remember; her amused delight in some small happening of the roadside; and always her ready sympathy in her friends’ joys or troubles. To her great gift of friendship there are many who can testify, and I will only say “*meminisse juvabit*,” whether the memories are of those early student days or of all the grace and simplicity of her ever ready response to life in its ever changing relations.

I CANNOT, however, resist quoting from her last letter—written within about six weeks of her death—a characteristic passage in which, though grievously ill, she, as ever of old, looked forward to things that needed to be done. Thinking of the need for an understanding between sociologists and theologians, and especially of the need for an appeal to the youth of the religious world, she expressed a hope for her restoration to health if only “to write a book on sociology for the Christian Student Movement.” And she went on to say “I believe I could manage this. What we [sociologists] need is an alliance with the Christians, but they can’t understand us except occasionally! I have had some light on this in my illness and, if I could do it, should feel I was paying my debt to human society, which has always given me more than my share, and now [in reference to service of physicians, surgeons and nurses] is piling up the debt!”

III. TRIBUTES FROM COLLEAGUES.

FROM DR. JAMES BONAR (formerly of the Civil Service Commission and a Founder of the Co-partnership Movement).

MRS. BRANFORD and I met chiefly at meetings of the Executive of the Labour Co-partnership Association. Perhaps it was at Leeds in March, 1899, that I found out how valuable she was to the Association. Of those at Leeds, nearly all the leaders have gone.

OVER policy, I usually found myself on the same side as Mrs. Branford; her impetuosity did us all good. Whatever she willed she willed strongly, and her heart was in the work. She helped what people have called the idealism of Co-partnership, as opposed to the *merely* commercial view, and yet she saw very well that the ideal must be built on the commonplace, and we must be prepared to labour patiently at prosaic details of machinery.

WHEN we have met occasionally after those Leeds days, I could always see that the old fire was still burning, and she was kindling it in others on her way through the world. The world is the better for her having been in it and there can be no higher tribute.

FROM MR. R. HALSTEAD (formerly Secretary of the Co-partnership Productive Federation).

AS one of the survivors of the group of men and women who helped to form the modern Co-partnership Movement I regret to read of the death of Mrs. Branford, who in those earlier days was one of its most strenuous and generous workers—strenuous in hard personal service, and generous in her use of means and social influence.

I MET her for the first time at the Perth Co-operative Congress and was much impressed by her enthusiasm for our co-partnership cause, which, in those days, was largely confined to the workers' activities in it. At the Congress Exhibition she worked with the rest of us, in personally distributing literature, and diligently attending the Congress Hall. Her education qualified her for many kinds of work in the movement, and, I know, for a considerable time she worked up to the edge of her strength, in publishing and editing the then newly started Co-partnership journal, *LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP*. She also contributed several pamphlets to the Labour Co-partnership cause when she was little more than a girl at Oxford University. She threw herself with zest into public speaking, at worker co-partnership meetings in Kettering and Leicester, and at drawing-room meetings in London, which, I believe, she very largely organised, or was the means of securing through her social position and influence.

AT that time I was much interested in University teaching for working men, and she heartily joined in my enthusiasm, and also gave valuable assistance in organising Co-partnership meetings in connection with the University Extension Summer Meetings at Oxford. These meetings and a small group of working-class scholars at the summer meeting led on to larger co-operative conferences and culminated in a large conference of co-operators and trade unionists at which the Workers' Educational Association was formed, in which Mrs. Branford had, I believe, a keen and lasting interest.

HER interest in the workers' aspect of co-partnership was as keen as ever the last time I met her, and she tried to extend the workers' interest in his own welfare to housing and town planning and town improvement in beauty and art setting. The older workers of the Midland Co-partnership Societies will not forget how she gave of her service and her means in helping them to build up their new industrial order with its fine educational work and its larger vision on the whole of social life, and even the amenities of village and town arrangements. The younger workers may learn to look with gratitude on these memorials of her work and influence.

FROM MR. HENRY VIVIAN (Chairman of the Co-partnership Housing Council).

MRS. BRANFORD, as Miss Sybella Gurney, gave public expression to her enthusiasm for improved housing conditions at the formation of the Co-partnership Tenants Housing Council, which was established in 1905 under the auspices of the Labour Co-partnership Association. She had taken an eager interest in the Ealing Tenants and the Garden City Tenants, and one or two other Tenants' Societies out of whose activities the Council grew. She occupied the position of Hon. Secretary of the new organisation (of which I was Chairman), devoted herself to its educational and propaganda work with great energy. She brought to the work rare gifts of heart and intellect. Her outlook was no narrow one, for she saw clearly that a solution of the problem involved in the long run the handling of the development of our cities and towns on broad comprehensive lines so that architectural beauty, efficient planning, open spaces, allotments, and the preservation of natural beauty spots should all be regarded.

HER first paper as Hon. Secretary of the new council, which was read at Derby, entitled "*Order v. Chaos*," indicated her grasp of the principles involved. In the second year she read a paper or gave addresses at more than half of the numerous conferences and meetings organised by the Council.

"THE City Beautiful" was the subject of a very interesting paper by her at Liverpool, about which she contributed numerous articles to the Press and magazines.

SHE was greatly encouraged by the first comprehensive recognition by Parliament of the issues involved in the idea and expressed in the Town Planning Act of 1909. She threw herself with zeal into seeking to amend the Bill as it was going through the House, and she had the satisfaction of seeing the Public Utility Housing Movement, of which she was the Hon. Secretary, recognised in the measure with definite provision for its encouragement.

THE following year, 1910, Mrs. Victor Branford, for such she had now become, was elected President of the Council. Although she served her Housing apprenticeship in the Co-partnership Housing Council, she also took a keen interest in the other organisations which were making their contribution to reform, such as the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, the National Housing and Town Planning Council.

HER intense sympathy with those who live in squalor or ugly or depressing circumstances coupled with her great moral fervour, caused her at times to be impatient with the rate of progress in achieving the changes she worked for, but she lived to see a great improvement in public opinion which was essential to advance, and to this improvement Mrs. Branford made a real and substantial contribution.

FROM MR. E. W. MUNDY (Secretary of the Labour Co-partnership Association).

MRS. BRANFORD came into the Labour Co-partnership Association and the Co-operative Movement as Miss Sybella Gurney after a distinguished University career at Oxford, and joined the Executive Committee in 1895. Two years later Miss Gurney joined Mr. Aneurin Williams in editing the *Co-partnership Journal* and acted as Hon. Secretary of a group formed to organise meetings in London. She became sole editor of the *Journal* in 1899.

MRS. BRANFORD was a keen supporter of the Workmen's Productive Societies, and looked upon them as the truest exponents of Co-partnership. Her deep sympathy and understanding of the manual workers made her help the Workers' Educational Association in its beginning, and join heartily in all educational work. It also led to her keen interest in Housing, in which subject she became an expert exponent of Town Planning and Garden Cities.

ULTIMATELY all these ideas focussed themselves into what has come to be known as Regionalism. For she desired each group of the people forming a township to work out their own salvation, making the highest and best type of life through their own conscious effort; just as she desired should be done by those engaged in any industry.

THE most fitting Memorial to Mrs. Branford would be a Social Centre, Co-operative and Educational, to bring together the enthusiasms of the young and the experience of the elder to revivify the place, to endow it with civic pride and a soul.

THE place would be Kettering.

FROM SIR EBENEZER HOWARD (Founder of the Garden City Movement).

MRS. BRANFORD was one of the most devoted workers, in many directions, that I ever known, especially in the wide field of voluntary co-operation. I saw a good deal of her in the very infancy of Letchworth, and the able and zealous work she did there, in association with Mr. Vivian and others, to promote good housing conditions, was indeed pioneer work, and extremely helpful to the Garden City Movement in its very critical early days.

FROM MR. E. B. BETHAM (Secretary of the Housing and Development Society).

MRS. BRANFORD was among the pioneers of rural housing when it was a neglected field, and neither Government, Local Authorities, nor private enterprise displayed activity in it. In sequel to efforts in previous years, she founded in 1911, the Rural Co-partnership Housing Association. This step from propagandism to practical endeavour was fearlessly taken in the face of much friendly criticism, which declared rural housing to be an impracticable business. It was her recognised position, as one who had long worked effectively in the general advancement of housing, which made it possible for her to obtain the co-operation of the strong and influential committee through which the new society began its work. Its object was to apply to countryside groups the principle of co-partnership housing, which had obtained such marked success in urban areas.

THE new society's range of work rapidly extended, and the evolution it experienced during the years which followed its formation is indicated by the changes of name which successively became necessary: (1) The Rural Co-partnership Housing Association; (2) Rural Co-partnership Housing and Land Council; (3) Rural Housing Organisation Society; (4) Housing Organisation Society; each name displacing its predecessor in order to cover additional operations. By 1915 it had, under Mrs. Branford's vigilant direction and ceaseless initiative, established successful pioneer housing and land societies up and down the country; secured Government recognition of its economic methods of building and success with group settlements; built over 1,100 houses, and, in order to increase its facilities for village housing, had begun the formation of County Committees. The war first hindered, then arrested our work, and several large prospective schemes, including one under Government auspices for housing miners in the Forest of Dean, had to be abandoned.

It was typical of Mrs. Branford's staunchness that in 1922, when the Government Housing Scheme under Dr. Addison was broken off, and there seemed little likelihood of resumption, she, in association with one of her colleagues of the old society, Mr. V. A. Malcolmson, formed the present Housing and Development Society, to re-open work on the lines of its predecessor as far as conditions should allow.

THERE are many families throughout the country now living in healthy and pleasant cottages, the building of which was the outcome of her original action. They constitute the happiest of memorials to her.

A QUALITY in her which was marked when she met people not so cultured as herself was an open, natural manner which completely put them at their ease. On occasion she would visit sites where building or building experiments were going on, and all sorts and conditions of folk were about. Her

interest would lead to impromptu interviews and interrogations. I am sure that those she spoke with never felt that they were being patronised by a superior or aloof person. She struck the human note always.

To her colleagues she could be imperious, and express her disapproval bluntly, when a proposition was being pressed with which her judgment did not concur, but the strong feeling which prompted such uncompromising opposition never in the least degree affected her good nature and friendliness.

A NOTICEABLE custom with her was the bringing together of individuals, hitherto strangers, whose acquaintance with each other was likely to prove of advantage to them in their own work, and, through that, to the general movement. She was tireless in such unselfish and wise endeavour.

SMILING wit lived near the surface with her, and frequently enlivened the sedateness of committee meetings. Her temperament was the antithesis to the portentous solemnity which afflicts some worthy administrators whose earnestness is dedicated to caution. Officials of this type were, to her, men who "almost justified revolution."

A RARE, deep-thoughted, warm-hearted woman whose personality, apart from the special work she found to do, was a human good in itself.

FROM MR. MONTAGUE FORDHAM (Hon. Secretary of the Rural Reconstruction Association).

It must, I think, have been in 1908 that I first met Mrs. Victor Branford. We were both profoundly interested in the problems of rural life and working for its reconstruction. She had taken a leading part in securing the passage of the Small Holdings Bill through Parliament, and we were both concerned in securing that it should be efficiently administered. Later on, in 1912, when a little group of working men living in Petersfield had come together on my initiative in the hope of creating a Co-partnership Housing Colony, she gave us much help; and the resulting model hamlet at Tilmore was but a sample of many others which, in different parts of the country, came into being through the activity of her Rural Housing Organisation Society.

It was not until 1923 that we met again. In that year, after return from my work in the rebuilding of Agriculture and Housing in the White Russian provinces of East Poland, I was very graciously welcomed by her at a conference she had convened at Leplay House to consider the general question of rural reconstruction. And thanks mainly to her initiative there was formed the Committee which grew into the Rural Reconstruction Association. It must never be forgotten that the survey of the English Rural Problem prepared by this Association, and published in 1925, undoubtedly the most complete that has ever been made, was the outcome of her initiative.

SYBELLA BRANFORD had an exceptional ability for seeing and sometimes naming things of fundamental importance. "The Regulative Guild," a phrase of hers, is now being discussed by many thinkers as a fundamental element of Social Reconstruction: the ideas that she emphasised on Social Credit are, at last, making their way as a vital contribution to the solution of the housing problem: whilst her favourite subject of Rural Reconstruction, twenty years ago advocated by only a few enthusiasts, whose ideas were generally discredited, is now a central problem of the day. She was not only a gracious personality but a practical pioneer.

FROM MR. LAWRENCE CHUBB (Secretary of the Footpaths and Commons Preservation Society).

MRS. BRANFORD was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society in 1920, and took a keen interest in the work of preserving rural Footpaths and to the provision of Open Spaces under Town Planning Schemes. Her practical knowledge of the possibilities of Town Planning and of the success which Continental cities have had in reserving belts of land around urban areas from building, proved of immense value to her colleagues. It was a characteristic action of Mrs. Branford to initiate the scheme for saving the cliffs between Hastings and the Fire Hills, and she never neglected an opportunity of urging that this area should be included for preservation in local Town Planning Schemes. The protection of the amenities of the New Forest from injury by injudicious enclosures for allotments, and by the extension of pine plantations out of harmony with the ancient and beautiful natural woodlands, was also a subject into which Mrs. Branford threw herself with energy and success, and every appeal made by the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society for the saving of Footpaths and Open Spaces met with her generous support.

FROM MRS. J. STEWART (Hon. Sec. Richmond Civic Association).

IN 1917, Mr. and Mrs. Branford came to live in Richmond. On their arrival the Richmond Women Citizen Association approached Mrs. Branford to ask her to address one of their meetings on Housing, and this she did at the end of a few weeks, becoming at once a member of the Association. During the following months she made herself thoroughly acquainted with the existing housing conditions in Richmond and the possibilities for both good and evil of the position.

As a member of the Richmond Christian Social Council, she agreed to act on a sub-committee to enquire into conditions of overcrowding in the Borough. The outcome of the Report was that a deputation, including Mrs. Branford, was received by the Town Council, and there is little doubt that, as a consequence of the emphasis laid on the shortage of houses, the number about to be built by the Town was considerably augmented.

INCREASING knowledge of Richmond's needs and the particular amenities to be protected, eventuated in Mrs. Branford conceiving the idea of an Exhibition which would demonstrate the possibility of harmonious development of the place. To launch such a scheme on the slowly-moving Richmond mind was a matter which required and received her ungrudging enthusiasm, work and perseverance. The first step was the formation of what came to be called the "Beautiful Richmond Exhibition Committee," which consisted of representatives of various organisations and individuals interested in the well-being of the Town. The beating out of the idea of the Exhibition in all its aspects was a matter of time and difficulty, which entailed on the inspirer of the Scheme an immense amount of work both as regards outline and detail, and it may safely be said that had it not been for Mrs. Branford's wide knowledge, untinted interest and hard work, such an Exhibition could not have taken place in Richmond. To preserve and add to the existing beauties; to clear away or at least to disguise ugly and discordant intrusions; and to set a standard for new housing schemes, were the aims held in view by the promoters, and demonstrated by means of models, plans, sketches, and also by a series of lectures by such authorities

as Prof. Adshead, Prof. Abercrombie, Mr. Raymond Unwin, and others. The Exhibition was called "Richmond—Past, Present, Possible," and was held in the Autumn of 1919, and it created very considerable interest both locally and outside the district.

EARLY in 1920 it was felt by the Beautiful Richmond Committee that it would be a great pity to allow all the interest and enthusiasm to evaporate, so it was decided to call a Conference of organisations interested in social development from various angles. The Conference was held at the end of January, 1920, and the following resolution was passed: "That a Civic Association be formed and that the Committee thereof be constituted as follows:—Seven members of the Beautiful Richmond Committee and one representative of each of the organisations taking part in the Conference, with power to add to its numbers." The aims of the Civic Association as defined in its Prospectus show the width of angle envisaged by Mrs. Branford. These aims are—

1. To stimulate historical interest in the town, and to this end preserve all buildings and monuments of historical worth.
2. To preserve all the natural beauties of the town and to maintain a vigilant opposition to all acts of vandalism.
3. To work for a more beautiful town and the extension to all parts of Richmond of something of the amenities of a garden city.
4. To promote and stimulate civic pride in the domestic and civic life of the citizens, by co-ordinating all local efforts which have for their object the fuller development of art, drama, music, and other cultural activities.
5. In addition to influencing the work of others, to select suitable projects to be carried out by the association itself.
6. The association shall seek to carry out these aims by means of meetings, newspaper and other propaganda, including exhibitions, lectures, competitions, and also by study of local conditions and reports.

MRS. BRANFORD's idea was to form a co-ordinating body which would encourage and foster all efforts being made towards the building up of a fuller life for the Community; to that end some of the Sub-Committees to be formed were as follows:—

- (1) Music (including Open-air Concerts).
- (2) United Open-air Religious Service.
- (3) Recreation (including Open-air Dancing).
- (4) Gardening and Open Spaces.
- (5) Regional Survey.

THE Richmond Infants' Health Association found in Mrs. Branford a good friend, and her talks at the Centre were greatly appreciated. At the Beautiful Richmond Exhibition a prize given for the best essay on "The House I should like to live in," was gained by one of the mothers of the Centre.

To those who knew Mrs. Branford and her work for Richmond, there are visible reminders about the Town of her constructive efforts. A dull and untidy graveyard in the centre of the Town is now, especially in Spring, a joy, from the wealth of flowers growing in it; various other corners have been transformed from a state of neglect to little gardens, which rest the eye and stimulate the soul. The open-air dancing, lasting from June to September every Wednesday evening, is a source of enjoyment to many, both young and old, who seek for wholesome pleasure in the summer evenings.

The town has now undertaken the supply of concerts twice a week in the Terrace Field, so that the Civic Association's example has borne fruit. In regard to Housing, the Exhibition set a standard for the Borough which was not lost, and the plans for the areas built and still to be built testify to Mrs. Branford's influence.

RICHMOND was only one of the many places which bear evidence to the work of one whose idea of citizenship was essentially religious. The building of the City of God was the goal to which she pressed with an earnestness which might have seemed exaggerated, but for that most delightful gift of humour, which always came to her rescue and kept the priceless sense of balance which made Sybella Branford the enthusiastic, sane, gracious woman that she was.

FROM MR. ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON (Deputy Chairman of the Sociological Society, and a Member of Council of Leplay House).

I MADE my first contact with Mrs. Branford during the War years; but it was after the opening of Leplay House in 1920 that I came to know her well. She felt strongly that a House which could form a centre for Sociological and Civic work was a definite need after the War, and she devoted herself unsparringly to the building up of the activities centred here.

I HAD the privilege of working with her as a Trustee of the Sociological Trust, and on most of the Committees responsible for the various sides of our work; and thus learned to respect her weight in discussion and ability in affairs. Her attitude to the views of those associated with her was at once sympathetic and critical, and she was always ready to consider new ideas and plans.

As the work centred at Leplay House developed, the task of bringing about and maintaining close co-operation between those interested in different sides of it was not always easy; but Mrs. Branford was ready at any time to discuss difficulties, to accept fresh suggestions, and to throw her weight on the side of co-operative effort.

SHE saw clearly that Regional Surveys, particularly from the social point of view (being to social amelioration what diagnosis is to medical treatment), should be one of the leading lines of activity at Leplay House. It was this idea which led to her writing (in collaboration with me) a book on Surveys, which has done much, I am told, to spread the Survey idea. She saw also, much more clearly than the rest of us, how important for the future of our movement is the establishing of links with the best of the existing social and religious traditions. It was not always possible to carry out her suggestions on these lines: but the permanent value of the idea to us all cannot be questioned.

HER humanity, devotion, and desire to do good were plain to all who came into contact with her; on occasion they found expression in simple and noble words which live in the memory. She never failed to make it clear that the line of work that she, along with her husband, had chosen—the development of the activities and ideas for which Leplay House was established—had a supreme place in her interests. At the same time she found room in her life for much friendly contact with people representing other movements and ideas, and for much unpretentious private benevolence.

MANY of us share the hope that Leplay House may continue and flourish, and thus preserve her memory in the way she herself would most have wished for—a combination of practical efforts and high ideals.

IV. THE SYBELLA-GURNEY TRUST.

IN sequel to Mrs. Branford's idea of doing something for after-war reconstruction by means of an Institute dedicated to the Catholic sociologist Le Play, there was founded in 1920 a Sociological Trust, to which she contributed (besides a wealth of ideas and an energetic service) the sum of £1,000. In view of the tentative nature of this endeavour, the Trust was constituted on a provisional basis. Its reorganisation as a permanent and irrevocable Trust, to meet the needs and opportunities revealed by six years of experimental working, is now being undertaken. And to commemorate its essential founder, the Sociological Trust will now become the Sybella-Gurney Trust.* It will receive from the Sociological Trust all the property vested in that Trust, and will be constituted on the lines of a Memorandum drawn up by Mrs. Branford herself, just before her last illness, when she was meditating a closer working together of all the various activities and organisations housed at 65 Belgrave Road. The three organisations chiefly concerned are the Sociological Society, the composite body called Le Play House (largely devoted to the promotion of Civic and Regional Surveys, and their practical applications) and the Leplay House Educational Tours Association.

WHAT the aims of this commemorative Trust will be, and which it will try to advance, should be evident from even a cursory study of Mrs. Branford's life-long interests and activities. The main purposes that she intensely desired to promote and realise are indicated (though in barest outline), with her customary lucidity and terseness, in the posthumous papers printed above, and more especially in the first two.† Essentially did she hope and work for deeper unison of the Christian and the Classic traditions, for so (she believed) might arise a renovated Spiritual Power efficient to apply, in thorough-going fashion, the resources of science to the remaking of villages, towns and cities, into semblance of a Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

By way of summary might be cited a memorandum she wrote for the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW in 1919, wherein the religious, the civic and the sociological notes are all struck, and blended into a resounding chord. This statement, headed THE NEW JERUSALEM, affirms her unwavering faith in Christian idealism as perennial fount of an impassioned altruism, and at the same time declares her hopes for our world, if that idealism be informed by the realist sciences of man, which, in a deep sense, have their origins in classical sources.

*Anyone interested to contribute either in the way of service, donation or bequest, is invited to communicate with the Secretary, Leplay House, 65 Belgrave Road, London, S.W. 1.

†See page 135.

THE note written, be it remembered, in the immediate aftermath of the Great War, runs as follows :—" The appointment of Professor Geddes by the International Zionist Committee to advise them in their plans and projects is interesting if only as an instance of the civic sociologist coming into practical leadership, and moreover, on the first plane of public affairs. For the reaction upon the world at large, of this new Return of the Jews, may prove to be deep and widespread. Professor Geddes' mission is twofold. He is engaged first to design the renewal of Jerusalem as the culture centre of Palestine ; and more particularly through its projected University ; next to plan towards the development of Palestine as a land flowing once more with milk and honey—and even growing once more with corn, wine and oil—and looking for inspiration and leadership to Jerusalem. Is there not here a conjunction that may also help towards larger harmony ? Europe, torn and ravaged by war and by political and class struggle, may, and too, before many years, see Jerusalem once more as ' the joy of the whole earth ' ; and now not only as a well-head of ancient sanctity but even more as a centre of new hope and deliverance from the old politico-economic order of ideas which have at length brought the world to its present condition. Where indeed more fittingly than from Palestine could the new order—the post-Germanic order of ideas—be inaugurated ? "

" UNLIKE the modern European countries, but in continuation of the old tradition of the Sacred City, centreing in the Temple, the leadership of Jerusalem will be expressed through the new University of Israel, and not through the establishment of mere bureaucracy. The University will also be developed to be in touch with, and to inspire the regional development of Palestine. Jerusalem—who can doubt it ?—will once more become a place of pilgrimage, not only for its past, but because there, seekers may find counsel for the present and inspiration for the future. From this centre a new spirit may well spread over our disturbed western world, and we may see the fulfilment of the old tradition common to Christian and Jew that ' the return of the Jews to Palestine should herald the millennium. ' For in this great vision the theological world has, as so often in other ways, anticipated the later idealism of the sciences, and their best applications. This fulfilment may come with the social sciences taking up their leadership and pressing forward towards constructive peace in replacement of the destructive age of nature exhaustion and of wars, into which the leadership of the physical sciences has led us. This misdirection by the lower sciences was effected through their dominance during the vogue of biologic theories like those of Darwin, and economic and political theories to match, like those now passing away. That the long-delayed rise into authority of the social and psychological sciences over the physical ones

is now appraoching many signs show. That is the revolution in thought for which sociologists have for two generations and more been working."

IN this pronouncement, a veritable manifesto—at once an epitome of history, a diagnosis of the present and a vision of the future—are happily blended the two formative factors of our Western civilisation. They are Greek-like thought, lucid, realist, unflinching, and the cleansing fires of Christian compassion. These majestic forces of the spirit creative informed her writing and inspired her work, because they were united in her life. From their bright substance her personality was wrought.

V. B.

STUDIES IN PROVENÇE.*

NOTE BY THE EDITOR OF THE "SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW."

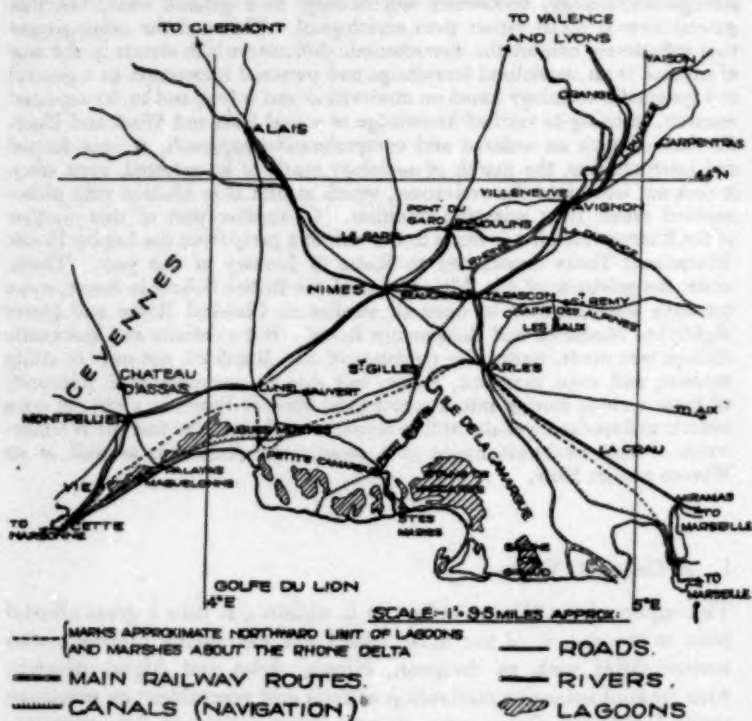
THE summarised impressions printed below survive from a studious tour in Provence made in the Spring of 1925, by a group of the Leplay House Educational Tours Association. The sociological interest of these notes, so far as it appears on the surface, is slight. But each of these little papers illustrates either some one or more of the many specialised approaches, or that of the ordinary educated person, to a sociological view. The opening paper, for instance, starts from a geographical approach, and moves on through archaeology, economics and history, to a general view, but this general view is social rather than sociological. This and the other papers thus collectively exhibit the characteristic difficulty which stands in the way of advance from specialised knowledge and personal impression to a general and systematic sociology based on observation and travel, and so, by repeated research, reaching to verified knowledge of actual Folk and Work and Place. For lack of such an ordered and comprehensive approach, at once factual and interpretative, the march of sociology tends to be arrested, even when it does not lapse into discursiveness, which at best is in filiation with philosophical rather than scientific tradition. In another part of this number of the REVIEW reference is made to the visit of a party from the Leplay House Educational Tours Association to Rome in January of this year. There, under the guidance of Mr. Meiggs, late of the British School in Rome, some ten days were devoted to open-air studies of Classical Rome and (more slightly) to Mediæval and Renaissance Rome. But a definite and systematic attempt was made, under the guidance of Mr. Branford, not only to study modern, and even incipient, Rome, but also to assemble (and interpret) all these various studies into a sociological view of Rome as a city, at once historic and modern, yet also still in course of evolution; so that the Whitherwards of such evolution might in a measure be discerned, as well as its Whence and its How.

I. A GENERAL VIEW.

THE region of the Rhone valley, as it widens out into a great alluvial plain to the sea, is of the most varied and entrancing interest; with ancient cities such as Avignon, Nîmes, Arles and Aigues-Mortes; wide areas of intensive cultivation of fruit and vegetables; an extensive stony desert, the Crau, only recently being reclaimed, by irrigation, into an agricultural plain; and the salt, marshy Camargue of the delta, where great herds of cattle, horses and sheep are pastured. The land is rich in monuments and traditions of Roman and mediæval history, and rich in songs and stories.

*To these studies the following contributed:—Misses L. Adam, M. Partridge, D. Price, C. Simpson, E. Watkins, D. Wells; Messrs. Lucas, Povey, Radley and Williams. Map by Miss F. Moss. Photographs by Misses Adam, Cresser, Price, Shaw, Simpson, Slight; Messrs. Radley and Williams. Several maps showing soil relief, communications, &c., were prepared by members of the Study Group, but it has only been found possible to reproduce a single one of the maps, and even that much simplified.

It is dominated throughout by the great river, which unites districts of very diverse scenery, soils and products. Geologists tell us that the Rhone Valley was not originally due to the work of that river; since the gradient of its bed south of Lyon is not steep enough for the river to have eroded such an important feature. In fact, south of Orange, the Rhone and its tributaries begin to deposit the materials they bring down instead of eroding a deeper valley. The gravel exposed in the Rhone near Avignon in April, is shown in Fig. 1, in which horses can



be seen bringing sand and gravel from a bank in mid-stream. Deposits of shingle were even more striking near the mouth of the Durance. In view of this, the enormously swift current of the Rhone, owing to the characteristics of its upper reaches, was all the more interesting. The N.S. valley of the Rhone is due to a series of rifts in long-past geological ages which have left the eastern edge of the Central Plateau of France standing up like a wall, notched by eastward flowing rivers, on the right bank of the Rhone. On the east of the river are a series of masses of hill-country, geologically trending E.W., due to violent foldings at a

period earlier than that in which the folding of the Alps occurred. These uplands are mainly limestone, and have weathered into fantastic forms which have been compared to the hills of Greece. (Figs. 2 and 3.) They are far more impressive than their comparatively low altitude would lead one to expect. Owing to the great climatic contrast between the wet winters and dry summers, erosion by streams is taking place so rapidly as to have produced very deep gullies; and signs of the past violent folding of these hills, as well as the results of weathering, can be seen in the bare rocks of the hill-sides.

CAVES are very often features of limestone country, owing to the solution of the rock by chemical action. Many caves exist in the valley of the river Gardon, and were used as shelters by Prehistoric Man. Fig. 4 shows the Grotte de Salpêtrière situated close to the famous Pont du Gard, in which Paleolithic remains have been discovered. M. Esperandieu, the French archeologist, told us that this cave was formerly filled up nearly to the roof, like the smaller caves further up the river, but a year or two ago the proprietor of the hotel decided to clear it out in order to make a garage. This clearance was not complete, but only went down to the level of the road which runs in front of the cave. Two officers of the Nîmes garrison obtained permission to search the débris, and found in it an enormous number of worked flints, which are now in the museum at Nîmes. There were also many bones; and two small heaps of rubbish still in the cave contain fragments of bone and of flint.

THE low land from which these limestone hills stand out prominently, is covered by deposits laid down in more recent geological time, and spread over the country by the rivers themselves. Alluvium is still being deposited by every rainy season. Fig. 5 shows a view of the upper valley of the river Ouvèze. Here, in the hill-country bordering the Alps, the amount of annual rainfall is greater than further south; and although much of the hill-country is limestone, and characteristically bare, we find meadow land in the alluvial valleys, and far more grass than in the agricultural districts further south; while the hill-sides support the terrace cultivation so characteristic of Provence. This is seen in the hill-sides shown in Figs. 3 and 6.

AGRICULTURE is so much bound up with the scenery of the Rhone Valley, between Orange and Arles that these topics cannot be considered separately. The greater part of the population of Provence and neighbouring districts is employed in agriculture or the industries arising from this. The work is laborious and is mainly carried on by hand. Large farms and modern methods are rare. The land is very carefully cultivated; and even small patches, here and there among the limestone ridges, bear their small supply of plants. Vegetables are often grown between the rows of other plants, so that more than one crop can be obtained from the same patch of ground. All kinds of vegetables are

seen growing in the fields or carefully packed en route for the market. (Fig. 7.)

IN some parts, such as round Avignon, the crops were varied and grown in smaller areas, but in other parts, as between Montpellier and Nîmes, field after field could be passed devoted to vine or olive. These of course are the two predominant crops. The vine is pruned very low; at the beginning of April it was no more than 1 to 2 feet in height; yet before the end of the month long tendrils and a plentiful supply of leaves were visible. Even the beginning of the fruit clusters could be seen. The chief occupations of the vine grower in April seemed to be ploughing between the rows, and spraying. The former was usually done by a small plough drawn by a horse, but sometimes by a hand plough; the spraying was effected by a sprayer worn on the back. The spraying was going on vigorously towards the end of April, and the general effect was to cover the vines with a white coating. It seemed to be done very thoroughly and carefully. In the olive groves pruning was in progress, the lopped-off branches being carefully conveyed home for fuel.

OTHER fruit trees were plentiful, particularly apricots and cherries. The blossom was nearly over before the beginning of April, and by the end of the month ripe cherries were being gathered in sheltered spots, e.g., the hill-sides behind Villeneuve. To the east of Avignon the ground seemed very rich, and was well cultivated, fields of cereals and vegetables as well as fruit trees being seen. Here the prevalent mistral led to the use of cypress hedges (Fig. 8), the tall trees standing in rows, while the spaces between the lower part of their trunks were carefully filled in with a wattle hedge, so as to make a complete wind break. But the land is not all equally fertile or equally cultivated. It is much more a series of fertile basins, often of alluvium, separated by ridges of varying height of limestone rock. (Fig. 3.) These provide areas of rough pasture where flocks of sheep and goats wander together in the care of a herdsman. The villages nestle among these rocks, which form the picturesque scenery of a spot such as Les Baux. (Fig. 2).

THE Mediterranean climate of the geographical text-books was illustrated in April by inhabitants of the Provencal towns who wore fur coats and at the same time carried sunshades. The winter rains were over; the sun shone brilliantly on the white limestone rocks and buildings; the roads were deep in dust, which would be worse in later summer; the flowers were bursting out in profusion, to be parched by the hot sun before the year was much older; and at intervals the mistral blew with an icy blast from the north-east. The prevalence of this keen wind, which chiefly blows in Spring but may occur at any time of the year, is shown by the twisted growth of the trees, by the custom of planting cypresses to form thick hedges (Fig. 8), and by the fact that

nearly all cottages have their doors, windows and gardens on the south side, whether this faces the road or not.

DURING recent geological, and even in historic times, the physical features of Provence have changed considerably. To the south-west of the wonderful limestone chain of the Alpilles (Figs. 2 and 3), so conspicuous in the view eastward from Villeneuve and Beaucaire, is a stony area, once a desert, called the Crau. It was formed by shingle brought down and deposited by the Durance, which formerly reached the sea through the pass of Lamanon, and has since changed its course to join the Rhone south of Avignon. This country has now been partially reclaimed by irrigation. The peculiar climate and physical features of Provence are such that the country requires both the drainage of superfluous surface water, and the irrigation of dry soil, within a very small area. Near Orange, also, the soil is covered by limestone pebbles so as to make a miniature Crau; the stones have probably been brought down by the River Eygues. Even more interesting country is that known as the Garrigue, which covers the hills north and west of Nîmes for many miles, and stretches westwards parallel with the Mediterranean Coast. (Fig. 9.) Here are few surface streams to carry away the rock-waste, and the hills are covered by fragments of weathered limestone which looks like a shingly sea-beach. Not a blade of grass grows there, but every few feet apart grow little thorny shrubs or bushes with hard leaves.

SOUTH of Arles the character of the country changes. If not in historic times, at least at the beginning of the present geological period, the mouths of the Rhone and the Durance were close together in the centre of a semicircular gulf, bounded by the mountain of Fos, and Cette, and parallel with the southern slope of the Alpilles and the hills of Beaucaire. The site of Arles is near the head of this former gulf, which is indicated on the map by a dotted line. Since then it has been filled by deposits laid down by the Rhone in the shallow and almost tideless waters of this coast; but in Roman times Arles was a busy port within easy reach of the sea. A still older trade route from the west, to join the Rhone both at Beaucaire and Arles, followed the old coast along a line of country now considerably higher than the present delta and coastal plain. Arles, throughout history, has been an important crossing place of the Rhone: the bridge of boats, used long ago there, and superseded by a more permanent bridge, was moved down to its present position on the Petit Rhone at Silvereal, on the road from Aigues Mortes to les Saintes Maries. In this strange country, known as the Camargue, even to-day, lagoons, salt marshes, and alluvial plains, reclaimed for cultivation, merge into each other in an indefinite manner. It is, however, changed since ancient and early mediæval times, when ships could approach the ports of Arles and Saint Gilles by way of the Etangs (Fig. 10) or lagoons, the shrunken remains of which are shown

on the map. This also shows the present course of the branches into which the Rhone divides, which have formed natural dykes of their own alluvium ; but in order to understand the history of the old ports, it must be remembered that until the 16th century the branch known as the Petit Rhone reached the sea much further west, and close to the site of Aigues Mortes, to which a canal was made by Francis I.

THE silt brought down by these rivers is carried along the coast by local currents and piled up to form sand bars behind which salt marshes form ; and on these we find the wonderful fortified churches of Maguelone and les Saintes Maries. (Fig. 22.) Much of the Camargue is now cultivated. In the north water is pumped in through canals, to neutralise the salt in the soil, and where it has been drained, vines are successfully grown even close to the lagoons, and in some places there are crops of cereals and early vegetables. (Fig. 7.) But much remains untilled, showing only its natural vegetation of salt-marsh plants, of which the "salicorn" is typical ; and here a mode of life persists which is peculiar to this district. Cattle roam over the level plains under the charge of herdsmen armed with long poles and mounted on the white Camargue horses with flowing tails, which are said to be of Arab descent. Some of these beautiful creatures are shown in Fig. 20, passing through the village of Aimargues, a few miles from Aigues-Mortes. We were invited to visit one of these ranches, where the Marquis de Barroncelli kindly arranged that we should see a round-up of the black cattle on his estate, by horsemen in the traditional Provencal costume ; and the scene was extremely picturesque. On the Crau, the custom of "trans-humance" still persists, by which herds of goats, sheep, cattle and donkeys are driven to the richer high pastures, or the Alps, every Spring, and return in the Autumn to the meagre pastures near the coast. We were told that the animals become restless in Spring, and themselves decide when the migration, which extends over many days, shall be made. No towns or villages are found in the Crau or the Camargue ; the agricultural labourers, fishermen, and basket-makers inhabit isolated huts thatched with reeds, and are very poor. The population here is sparse and consists largely of Spanish immigrants. From this country come the bulls used in the bull-fights which take place in the Roman arena in Provencal towns.

PHOTOGRAPHS give only a poor idea of the interest of this country. Fig. 11 shows the view from the ramparts of Aigues-Mortes, with the canal made to carry salt and wine (in barrels such as are shown in Fig. 12) to the Rhone at Beaucaire. Large heaps of salt, evaporated out of the lagoons, were seen near Aigue-Mortes ; glistening in the sun, they gave the impression of distant icebergs. It has been said that life in Provence has always been dependent on mountain, sea, steppe, and irrigated plain ; and we find that under the more artificial modern conditions, this variety is still the most striking feature of the region.

II. A PEEP AT ROMAN FRANCE.

THE English student of Roman life could find no better region to survey than Provence, because it is complementary to our own land. Britain was an afterthought in the construction of the Roman Empire, and the remains there are thus generally of a rough type befitting the almost purely military occupation of a country remote from the civilising centre. Provence, on the other hand, is part of the Mediterranean world, and enjoys the sunshine of the south with the landscape and vegetation of Italy, which must have made the Romans feel at home, as they never could feel in our fog-bound island. Moreover, the ground had been prepared by the establishment of Marseilles as a Greek colony as early as 600 B.C.

DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, whose triumphal tower overlooking Nîmes is said to be the oldest Roman monument in France (Fig. 19), established in 121 B.C. the province of Gallia Narbonensis from the Pyrenees to Geneva. From this date, until the coming of Goths and Saracens, this area enjoyed a spell of almost unbroken peace and prosperity for 800 years. The creation of the Empire brought in an era of improved conditions for the provinces; and when in 27 B.C., Augustus visited Southern France, the region was already known as "the Province" *par excellence*, whence the name "Provence." As we gazed upon colossal Roman buildings, still in use to-day, and passed vineyards and olive gardens tended by folk of Roman blood, we felt that here at least the Roman Empire continued to influence our own time.

THE chief example we saw of Roman domestic architecture was at Vaison, where we examined a recently discovered villa with many rooms, central heating system, baths, and brightly coloured mosaic floors. (Fig. 13.) The grandest utilitarian work seen was the Pont du Gard (Fig. 15) (built by Agrippa, 19 B.C.), which brought water from the hills to the city of Nîmes. The glow of the mellowed stone of its three tiers of arches (48 metres high and 269 metres in length) in the afternoon sun is a sight never to be forgotten.

THE Roman amusements were chiefly of two kinds—dramatic performances in theatres of Greek type, and combats with men or animals in huge amphitheatres. The former may be seen at Vaison (Fig. 14) and Arles, but most magnificently at Orange, where the back wall is 320 feet in length and rises to a height of 120 feet. The amphitheatre at Nîmes held 25,000 people, and is better preserved than the Coliseum. Of many triumphal arches, that of St. Remy is particularly distinguished by its decorative motive of local fruits and honeycomb vaulting.

ROMAN administration maintained a conciliatory attitude towards local customs and religions. Of this, Nîmes provides an illustration. Close to the beautiful fountain of Nemausus, the native water deity who gave her name to the town, is a Roman temple to Diana, while

two streets away stands the most perfect monument of all—the *Maison Carrée*, a temple of chaste Greek design dedicated to the sons of Agrippa, the faithful henchman and son-in-law of Augustus. The museums of Avignon, Arles, Nîmes and Vaison contain an amazing store of statuary, tombstones, &c.

MOST of the important Provencal towns and some of the smaller ones of to-day, have existed as settlements since Roman times. Many of these owe their origin to their position on the Rhone, which has been since prehistoric times one of the chief trade routes between North and South Europe. Arles, Beaucaire, Tarascon and Avignon became bridge towns in the middle ages, and are still junctions for various routes. Nîmes owes its origin to the springs issuing from the limestone hills to the north-east, which can still be seen in the beautiful gardens on the outskirts of the town; but when the Roman population outgrew the water-supply from these, additional water was brought by the aqueduct surviving to-day in the "Pont du Gard." Another series of towns grew up as centres of trade for the produce of the fertile "basins" into which the Rhone valley is divided by groups of limestone hills, and which in modern times, have been enabled by the railway to develop a flourishing trade in early vegetables and fruit. One of these is Carpentras, which has a fine Roman triumphal arch, and is now a centre for fruit growing and jam making. St. Remy, on the plain further south, is at the foot of the bare slopes of the Alpilles, on a road through a gap between these hills and those known as the Petit Crau, and is a market for country produce. Orange is one of several towns built on an alluvial terrace near the Rhone, and Vaison (Fig. 6) is situated on low hills at the junction of several valley routes which soon open out on to the plain. (Fig. 5.)

TOWNS of Roman origin are found in situations which lead to comfort and prosperity to-day, in contrast with the hill-towns of the middle ages, which were built exclusively for defence. Vaison is a good example of this. On the low right bank of the river Ouvèze, which is spanned by a Roman bridge, still in use, are the ancient theatre, baths and houses. Vaison was then evidently the centre of a peaceful and prosperous neighbourhood. Here also is the Cathedral, parts of which date back to the 6th or 7th century A.D., and in which some Roman pillars have been used. Across the river is the mediæval town, built on a rocky hill. (Fig. 6.) It is entered through a fortified gateway; and past narrow winding streets, still inhabited, one reaches first the church dating from 15th century, and finally remains of the 14th century castle on a precipitous rock. The modern town, on the other hand, has grown up on the Roman site. It has a weekly market for the produce of a large neighbourhood. Little mediæval hill-towns, each clustering round a ruined castle, are met with every two or three miles in this country.

FIG. 1.



The Rhone near Avignon.

FIG. 2.



Ruins at Les Baux.

FIG. 3.



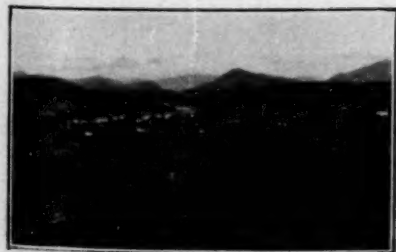
The "Alpilles."

FIG. 4.



"Grotte Salpêtrière" (near Pont du Gard).

FIG. 5.



Valley of the Ouvèze (from Crestêt).

FIG. 6.



Vaison "old town."

FIG 7.



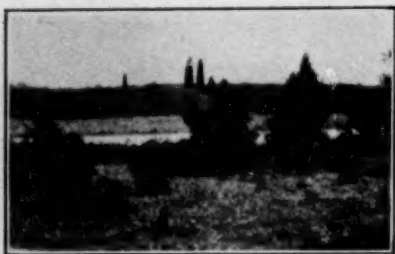
Market Place, Aigues-Mortes.

FIG. 8.



Cypress Hedge near Avignon.

FIG. 9.



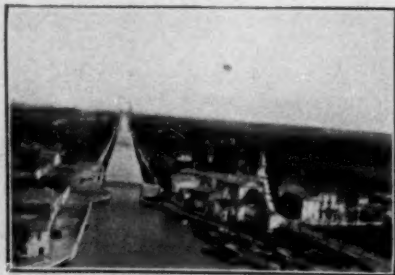
The "Garrigue," near Nîmes.

FIG. 10.



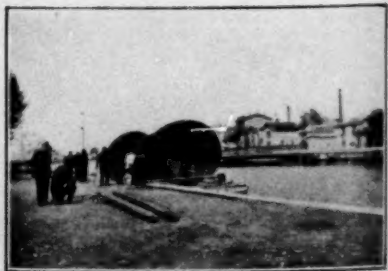
Etang de l'Arnel (from Maguelone).

FIG 11.



View from Ramparts of Aigues-Mortes.

FIG. 12.



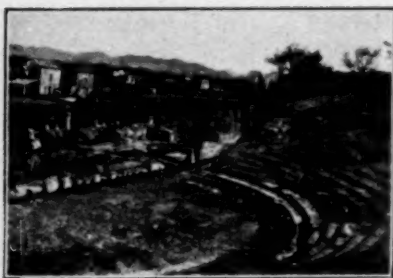
The Quay, Aigues-Mortes.

FIG. 13.



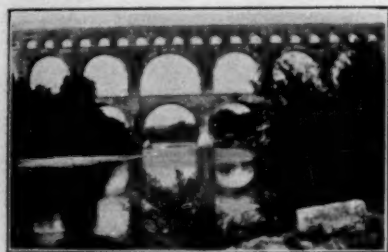
Recent Excavations at Vaison.

FIG. 14.



Roman Theatre at Vaison.

FIG. 15.



Pont du Gard.

FIG. 16.



Market Square, Uzès.

FIG. 17.



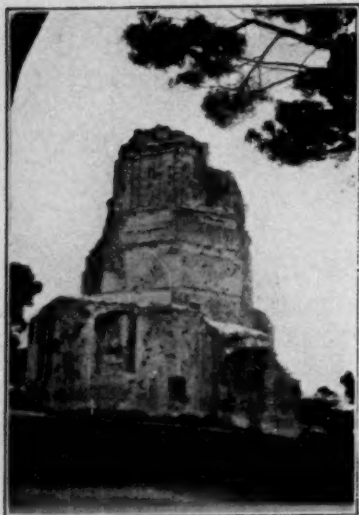
Ramparts at Aigues-Mortes.

FIG. 18.



Approach to Maguelone.

FIG. 19.



La "Tourmagne," Nîmes.

FIG 20



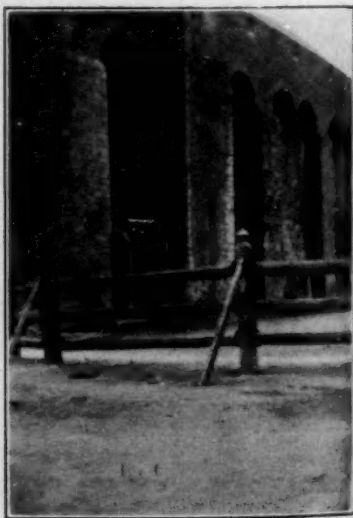
"Camargue Horses."

FIG. 21.



Crestêt (view from Castle).

FIG. 22.



Fortified Church at Maguelone.

III. AIGUES-MORTES.

THIS ancient town has a peculiarly mediæval character. Provence does not in general recall the Middle Ages in the same way as many other parts of France do. It is indeed unrivalled in the number and strength of its chateaux, and Arles is a fine example of a mediæval town; yet Rome dominates almost everywhere. But at Aigues-Mortes we seem to go back through five or six centuries. The town is still mainly confined within the walls; and the old gates are still the only entrances. The ramparts (Fig. 17) extend for a distance of about 600 yards from east to west and about 150 yards from north to south, the town being roughly quadrilateral. All the fortifications are intact and unrestored; the moat alone has disappeared. The Tower of Constance dominates the fortifications. Since all local tradition centres around St. Louis, who embarked from Aigues-Mortes in 1248 and 1270 for the seventh and eighth crusades, the ramparts have often been attributed to him; but this tower is all that really dates from his reign. It is a strongly built fortification about 120 feet high, containing two chambers, a defensive platform, and a look-out tower since used as a lighthouse. Its purpose was purely defensive; but it contains two fine pieces of work—a beautiful thirteenth century chimney in the lower chamber, and a small private chapel for the king. The vaulting of the roofs is particularly effective. It is carried on ribs proceeding from the walls and unsupported by pillars. Philip III. and Philip IV. continued St. Louis' work and built the ramparts. These communicate with the original tower, but belong to a distinct plan. Structural differences, especially in the number and length of the loopholes, show that the work extended over many years. In the older parts of the walls the loopholes are very long; later on they were shortened to about half the length and the number considerably reduced. This newer part of the ramparts faces the sea and is generally less strongly fortified; since danger would come from the land side, not from the shallow lagoon that almost washes the southern wall. Aigues-Mortes was never attacked by the Saracens, against whom these fortifications were prepared.

IV. MAGUELONE.

A straight avenue of plane-trees leads from Montpellier to the coast at Palavas-les-Flots, a distance of about 7 miles. Palavas is a small town with two interests—fishing and the export of wine. We turned westward from the main street to pass through lodge gates of the private estate of Maguelone. Here before us stretched a long, dusty, stony road—a veritable Pilgrim's way. To our left was the sea-shore of the Mediterranean, fringed with sand-dunes and salt-loving grasses, pinks and lavender, stocks and tamarisk bushes in full bloom. To

our right a hedge of tamarisk, behind which lay lagoons of great beauty—known locally as the Lido. Beyond stood out Montpellier and the ridge of the Cevennes, with its characteristic final spur fronting us. But treachery lurks in the charm of the Lido; even as we wondered at the colour in the lagoons, we felt that the air was tainted. (Fig. 10.) In the middle of last century the death-rate was so high that only five per cent. of children born in this district survived infancy. Three remedies were then applied: quinine was liberally used to prevent fever; channels were cut from the lagoons to the sea; and a higher standard of living was introduced; with the consequence that this district is now almost up to the average of healthiness in France.

AFTER trudging along this road (Fig. 18) for over three miles we came in sight of a clump of pines and a tower, which was the church of Maguelone. This looks more like a fortress keep than a church; it is oblong in shape, with high massive walls, flanked with buttresses and finished off at the roof level with castellation and machicolation. The windows are those of a 12th century feudal castle, suited for archers on the defensive, but giving little light to the interior of the building. We remembered the similar church at Les Saintes Maries in the Camargue, fortified to protect the shrine of the two Maries against marauding Saracens. The little bay below the mound on which the church stands is still called Saracens' Bay, because they scourged this coast from their base in the Balearic Isles.

MAGUELONE is a 12th century church founded by Arnaud of Verdun in 1154. He was Bishop of Maguelone and Montpellier. Maguelone is the older place, having had an episcopate from the 8th century, 200 years before Montpellier was founded. The Bishop lived at Maguelone.

CHARLES MARTEL first founded a church on this site, but no trace of his building remains. The present structure is the church of Bishop Arnaud, and a later founder of the 13th century whose name is unknown. The church is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, indicated by the carved figures over the door. On entering one is struck by the loftiness and by the strength and simplicity of the style. On the floor the limits of the two earlier churches are marked out, that of Charles Martel not extending beyond the present nave, Bishop Arnaud's covering the nave and part of the chancel, while the 13th century extension includes the two transepts and the apse behind the altar. The altar is reversed, so that the priest officiates behind it, facing the congregation. A narrow stone staircase in the wall leads up to the roof. Here, standing on the stone slabs, we had a view from the sea to the Cevennes (Fig. 10) not unlike the view from the roof of Les Saintes Maries, except that now we saw the Garrigue, and then we looked on the Camargue. There is now no priest at Maguelone and no bishop of that title.

COMMUNICATIONS.

ROME: PAST, PRESENT, POSSIBLE.*

BEFORE the impressions of my visit to Rome with Miss Tatton's Leplay House party fade, let me send you some rough jottings of things seen. Perhaps the most significant thing I saw was the beginning of a new University City (*Citta Universitaria*). A big space—maybe as much as 100 acres—has been cleared, and is now being levelled, just outside the walls, on the east side of the old city. It is bounded on the north by a vast-spreading hospital (*Policlinico*); on the east by the general cemetery; on the south by a working-class quarter (said to be inhabited almost exclusively by socialists and communists); and on the west by the Artillery Barracks and those of the Pretorian Guard (the latter a manifest factor in Fascism). Thus do Death, and Disease, organic and mental, moral and social, encompass the new University City on all sides. Yet how the pallid mantle is touched with the lustres of life—for the many pavilions of the great hospital have the unity of a dignified architectural treatment, and the spaces between the pavilions, and in back and front, are gardenised and tree lined, so that the whole suggests an Aesculapian Temple. And the cemetery with its monumental rows of lofty cypresses is impressive. Could there be a more stirring milieu for the study of Social Pathology with its revealing glimpse of an optimistic outlook? And, since the first institute of the new University-City is a building (of 270 feet frontage) for Psychiatry, and the second one (much smaller) for Medical Jurisprudence, it did not seem unreasonable to suppose that those who had gone so far might not make the further advance from medical and mental to social pathology, and therefore allocate a site for a Sociological Institute. About the prospects of introducing this sociological haven, it is hard to speak. As yet the new University-City has only one other building (in course of erection, and whose purpose I did not ascertain) in addition to the two mentioned above. Evidently the assemblage of all academic institutes, as on an American Campus, is in view rather than the merely hostel idea of the new "University City" in Paris. But I was unable to find anyone who could tell me what those who are planning it are after. All those I inquired of either said there was no "university city" in Rome, or that if there was, it stood for a grandiose Italian idea never likely to be realised!

BUT there were many other things to suggest that a new and more genuinely civic Rome (a post-imperial city instead of an ultra-imperial one, perhaps the real *Terza Roma*) is beginning to emerge. One of them (just outside the Wall, on the south) was an admirable new Fruit and Vegetable Market, orderly, hygienic, and with railway sidings in the rear, and, in front, two modestly monumental gateways, between which stands not a Public House and a Toll-taking Bureau (as would be the case in England), but an Agricultural Co-operative Bank. Here surely is the Peasant-gardener established in town with the Woodman-engineer, the Shepherd-hygienist, and the Crofter-financier, all working together to civic purpose!

ANOTHER instance was a new working-class quarter not of barracklike tenements, but rather of the garden-city type, and better done than the garden-city so-called and recently built on the supposed English model some two or three miles to the north of the city. (Again the Peasant as

* A letter by the Editor of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* written in January to Professor Geddes.

Builder !) And still another was some admirable textile factories (artificial silk) of the extensible studio-like type, and of course run by electricity. (Peasant and Woodman-engineer in the service of Woman !) And again (for an instance more obviously civic, yet also broadened by that widening outlook upon the world at large which has ever marked Roman history) a "Street of Nations" (although not called so) is beginning on the northern slope of the Pincian. At its centre stands a great new Palace of *modern Italian Art*, and next to that is the British School; and sites have been chosen, and plans were being prepared, for Academies or Institutes to be set up by Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Egypt, with other nations to follow, no doubt. With a little replanning of the Pincian Gardens (needed in any case towards the evolution of the Pincian Hill as an incipient Sacro Monte) this beginning of a Rue des Nations could be linked up: (a) with the French Academy housed in the Villa Medici; and, (b) given significant contacts, on the east with the Ludovisi Quarter and its confused and deteriorate urban world of luxurious international hotels and, on the west with the ordered and progressive rustic world of the International Institute of Agriculture.

THESE, then, are some of the observations gathered to illustrate my final lecture—that on Incipient Rome and its Region. The previous lectures had dealt with Modern Rome, Renaissance Rome, Mediaeval, Classical and Pre-Classical Rome—all to be sure treated cursorily, but always with sociological interpretations directed to show:—

(a) that Rome, the city, is intelligible only when viewed as the focus of a region in which persistent rural types continuously recruit the life of the city where these undergo transformations for ill and good;

(b) that, as one walks the streets, all the successive historic Romes can be seen strangely interacting with one another and with the inflowing rural life;

(c) that each one of these many living Romes is, for ill and good, visibly playing its part in the confused ferment of the Present towards the incipient Future;

(d) that a similar conflict of surviving cultures and of ill-adjusted play between Town and Country goes on in all the regional capitals (and to less extent in minor towns and cities) of Italy.

(e) But this conflict of culture-survivals, complicated by accumulated maladjustments of rural and urban life, is conspicuous in all the countries of Western Europe; and is spreading throughout the world. Its turmoil is the indisputable mark of Transition from an outworn age into one of renewing civilisation—or of debacle.

(f) So long as the conflict of cultures and of town and country is unresolved there is a tendency for the Evil of the Past to be transmitted to the Present rather than the Good, with the consequences that (1) defects instead of qualities are elicited in the perennial rural types (Hunter, Peasant, Shepherd, Fisher, Woodman, Miner) which recruit the urban populations; and (2) there is intellectual arrest with economic reversions and moral perversions; and (3) the current Transition therefore shows itself mainly as a disintegrative process.

(g) In Transitions of the past, Italy has often led the way out of an apparent impasse towards a new and better social order—as, for instance, in the Pax

Romana which replaced the wars of the decaying Hellenistic cultures, and, again, in the organised establishment of Christianity upon the ruins of the Classical Culture, or again in the development of the Renaissance from out the debris of the Mediaeval Culture.

(h) The general movement towards Reconstruction that arose in the social enthusiasm of the concluding phase of the Great War in all the countries of the West, and which soon waned in the after-war turmoil elsewhere, has been renewed in Italy and has acquired a more or less orderly development under the later Fascist regime ;

(i) The main constructive endeavour of this later Fascist regime has been, and is, towards the establishment of both an urban and a rural economy on a basis of scientific technology, *i.e.*, the replacing of that confused mingling of individual gain-seeking with crude machine-production and empirical agriculture (which hitherto has everywhere characterised the Industrial Revolution) by an ordered application of an integrated technology from top to bottom of the economic structure in town and country.

(k) In this long-delayed passage of the modern world from a " paleotechnic " to a " neotechnic " economy, Italy, under the Fascist regime would appear to be making the crucial experiment of a world-wide Transition. (A comparison with the analogous endeavour in Soviet Russia should yield interesting conclusions.)

(l) The central Fascist aim called *BONIFICA INTEGRALE* manifestly needs something more than technological inspiration and guidance. It needs a parallel and co-ordinated movement at once, Vital and Hygienic, Mental and Educational, Social and Ethical. Vigorous efforts towards Hygienic and Educational readjustments adapted to the new technological system are being made in Italy. But of the corresponding Social and Ethical Reconstruction little or no sign is evident. In its absence the technological and educational readjustments are likely to be hindered, frustrated and even diverted into the channels of the old (paleotechnic) order. Hence

(m) the need for an adequate sociology to inspire and direct the Reconstructive Movement, and save it from lapsing into the evil inheritance which lurks at every corner.

(n) It would be peculiarly in accord with Italian tradition if the Fascist regime were to establish (under appropriate guidance) an Institute of Sociology which would renew and bring up to date the tradition of Vico's *SCIENZA NUOVA*.

(o) If the new Institute of Sociology were to be an essentially Italian foundation, its natural place would be on the University Campus, alongside of, and in complement and supplement to, the Institute of Psychiatry ;

(p) but if an *international* foundation, its place would be alongside the International Institute of Agriculture ; the two together fitly terminating the incipient Rue des Nations, in a culminating linkage of Town and Country in regional unity.

CLEARLY both Institutes of Sociology should be provided for in a town-planning scheme directed to the re-sanctification of the Capitoline, and to the still vaster, more profound and significant task of ennobling to high degree (*i.e.*, sanctifying) the other six hills of the " Eternal City." And here, then, is a grand opening for the British School in Rome to introduce

Town-planning and Civic Design into its studies. Indeed, since the architectural students increasingly outnumber those of Painting, Sculpture, Engraving and Archæology, the School may be expected to turn towards the more architectonic interests, and so work not only at the theoretic reconstruction of individual buildings of the ancient city (as they do now) but also at the problems of the replanning of the modern city.

How far the new life that is stirring in Rome is being, or can be, directed to genuinely civic expression, it is hard to say. Most (if not all) of the civic renewals mentioned above are (I think) of Pre-Fascist origin, and are not to be credited to any political creed or party. The new town-planning projects of definitely Fascist origin seem to be (so far as I had opportunities of studying them) somewhat Hausmann-like. Mussolini and his Municipal advisers appear to be in peril of the monumentalistic snares of the Cæsars, the Popes, and the Princes of the Renaissance. It looks as if they were going to repeat the civic errors of the great building Cæsars, like Augustus, Nerva and Hadrian, and the town-planning Popes like Nicholas V, Julius II, and Sixtus V, for were not all of them—Popes and Cæsars alike—tempted into extravagances of civic adornment too much like monuments to the glorification of themselves and their own order? (What, for instance, is St. Peter's and its vast colonnaded approach, but the Basilica of an Imperial Forum contrived for Renaissance Popes obsessed by Cæsarist dreams!) And when to these megalopolitan (not to say megalomaniac) traditions of Cæsars and Popes are added not only those of the Renaissance Princes who (with few exceptions) frankly substituted for the ennoblement of the city an architectural exaltation of self and family, but also the similar examples of the (more or less) reformed Condottieri (or converted Peasant-bandits) who, like Francesco Sporza, turned from pillage to statesmanship, how great the need of sociological aid for the latest of the reformed Condottieri, who has turned from the potential pillage (of the socialist class-war) to civic reconstruction!

THE question then that arises is the delicate one of a sociological appeal to the Fascists! As a modest beginning, why not an Exhibition of *ROME, PAST, PRESENT, POSSIBLE*. Anyhow, the making of such an Exhibition would be a pleasant winter's occupation, especially if it could be undertaken in association with the British School—when they start their needed Town-planning Department! But I should not be surprised if the American Academy were the first in this field. Are not the American Community-Planners nearest to the concept of Civic Design as the architectonic issue for all the arts? The American Academy spaciouly housed near the top of the Janiculum in a fine building by McKim, Meade and White, only needs the addition of a moderate tower to enjoy an incomparable panorama over the city and the Campagna, with the Sabine Hills snowclad on the eastern horizon. With these advantages of locality, and with the American resources of money and architectural tradition, there is only wanting the spark of vision to light a civic torch that would flame through the world. But it's a big "want"! The same lack has depressed and hindered that other American effort to lever the world on a Roman fulcrum—the International Institute of Agriculture. But where the economists, businessmen and politicians failed, may not the artists, sculptors and architects succeed? Yes—with the right kind of sociological aid—but again a large demand!

THE discursiveness of this letter needs a final paragraph of clarification. The main point I would emphasise is the visible interplay in Rome, to-day

as ever in the past, of two great influences. They are those of Rome as the capital city of a Region, and Rome as a Metropolis of Western Civilisation. (How well are these two Romes symbolized in the Papal blessing of *Urb* and *Orb*!) The interpretation of Rome as the capital city of its region has of course to be worked out primarily in terms of the Valley Section and its rural types. The interpretation of Rome as a metropolis of Western culture has to be worked out primarily in terms of historic phases, which, though successive in time, are yet contemporaneous in living survivals. In the confusion of modern times the interplay of these two Romes—Rome as *Urb* and *Orb*—has tended to provoke and transmit competitive defects, instead of evoking and integrating complementary qualities. Especially since the nationalist unification of Italy (1870) has Rome been the prey of these subversive tendencies. They continue under the Fascist regime, and in some ways find exaggerated expression, as in its aggressive nationalism. Nevertheless Fascism has a reconstructive aspect, which makes it perhaps the most hopeful of European endeavours towards an ordered and progressive Transition. Alone of the Western nations (Russia always excepted) Italy under its Fascist regime has not only renewed its post-war reconstructive endeavour, but is systematically submitting it to technological direction. The imminent danger of Fascism is its metaphysical theory of an abstract Citizenship of loyalty to a Transcendental State. And in the vagueness and indirection of such a metaphysic, is not the technological endeavour too liable to diversion into anti-social channels? Alas! there is available nowhere, as yet, a comprehensive corrective of this current metaphysic, but may not its perilous abstractions be increasingly countered by practice of that concrete sociology which applies itself to the problems of Civic and Regional Survey, and to the tasks of Civic and Regional Renewal and Reconstruction? Hence in final conclusion the pressing need of planting this sort of sociology in the rich historic soil of Rome, whence it might grow and spread to other cities as the antidote to that bane of rapacious imperialism which also had its seed-bed in Rome.

V. B.

THE following note received from an English resident in Rome (a critical student of Fascism) to whom the above letter was submitted in proof may be added by way of postscript.

"WHAT you say as to the establishment of an urban and a rural economy, both on a basis of scientific technology, as the main constructive endeavour of Fascism seems to give the clue to the side of it that compels admiration, and it is so true too that hygienic and educational readjustments adapted to that system are being made much in advance of true social and ethical reconstruction so far as the two groups can be fully distinguished. There is the usual tendency to identify moral reform with prohibition; did you hear of the shutting of the dancing clubs on New Year's Eve—in fact, the stopping of all public dances that night at a few hours notice? It has been remarked, I think rightly, that the forces at work are still too superficial, there is a youthful hastiness of action and impatience shown in planning, and even sometimes a want of stability and perseverance. However, it is always easy to criticise, and one more and more realises that something of constructive importance is emerging. The more need that the process should be integrating, and not disintegrative.

"I HAVE come in slightly depressed from a drive, going out by the Via Appia Antica which was beautiful enough in its accustomed way, but returning so as to get the wider view of the hills and a better road by the New Appian Way coming in from the Campagna to the Lateran. One cannot resent the extension of the town outside the walls; that is an accepted and essential fact, no doubt, but whereas the new part used to border on what was truly rural, now there is a sort of straggle of unsightly buildings, dumps, hoardings, hiding the lovely views, and generally, as you say, 'the evil inheritance that lurks at every corner.' At last one comes through trams and picture palaces to the Lateran Gate, and after that the dignity of mediæval Rome again asserts itself, at least in glimpses. But is it always going to be like this, is everything to become noisier and more trampled?

. . . . "ON further enquiry I find you were right in thinking that the buildings you saw on the site of the Citta Universitaria were intended as the beginning of a new University scheme—i.e., the University of Rome is to be moved out there—planned on a larger scale also—within the next four or five years."

MOSCOW'S HOUSE OF SCIENCE.

IT has been pointed out by several well-meaning visitors to Russia (or U.S.S.R. as it is now called) that you see conditions through different coloured glasses—red, blue and yellow, as the case may be. If you are a communist you wear crimson-tinted glasses, see what you are expected to see, and laugh brightly on the right (or should it be the left) side of your face. If you are a representative of a foreign Government, not caring tuppence about the blessed virtues of bolshevism, you receive a pair of blue glasses, are assisted through with your diplomatic business, and depart as rapidly as you came. If you are a "white," wearing one of the various disguises that pass people into Russia—"Big Biz," Commerce, Industry, Renewed Trade Relations, and so on—you receive yellow glasses through which everything appears the colour of gold.

FROM what I personally know of the matter there are visitors who see things not through coloured lenses but through their purses. And I have invariably found that the bigger and better filled the purse the more rosy the outlook. I recall the "pictures" of Moscow by a titled lady who was in a position to pay the present-day monstrous charges for hotel accommodation, cabs, duties on personal belongings, and so forth. She passed through this Valley of the Shadow of Death (as gloomy people still call Russia) with a bright look, saw happy faces everywhere, and made her exit into the columns of a London daily paper with a smile that nearly ruined its anti-soviet reputation.

WHEN the purse is lean it is different. There is nothing to protect the penniless adventurer from falling into the dismal aftermath of revolution, civil war and famine. Indeed he glides into revelations as easily as Moscow's homeless children crowd into the asphalt boilers of a night for warmth and sleep.

THIS was my own experience during my visit to Russia this late Autumn and early Winter. I started off in August in quest of information mainly of a sociological character. I wanted to know to what extent the people had realised their vision of a new scientific social structure. At different

periods since the revolution I had watched them putting themselves, their new surroundings and their scientific industrialism on the stage, and thus changing the theatre to the likeness of a true microcosm of the world without, for the first time in its history. I wanted to see what the scientists were doing. For quite a long time I had been telling people through English and American technical journals that they were doing something towards laying the foundations of an up-to-date scientific Russia. Since my previous visit to Russia the Soviet Press had continued to voice the praise of scientific inquiry and development so that I fully expected to re-enter Russia to find the workers applying the finishing touches to their scientific Paradise. Of course I found nothing of the sort. If I had had a fat purse, instead of a lean one, I might have run round to the many and varied institutes and found abundant evidence of scientific research and investigation, but not much actual practical achievement. As it was, not having much money I tumbled into Moscow's House of Science and found abundant evidence of the condition of the scientists.

I was recommended to the House of Science (or House of Scientists) by an official after I had wasted three whole precious days looking for a corner of a room with a bare couch. I stayed there about four weeks during which I came into contact with some of the most eminent Russian scientists. One or two had been out of Russia before the war. They knew the Sociological Society and had met Professor Geddes after whom they asked with warm admiration. Sometimes the talk was about Town Planning, and I gathered that (as in other countries) big things had been planned and very little as yet accomplished. The little included workers' garden suburbs at Moscow and Leningrad, and a start at the rebuilding of peasant villages on a new plan of a garden city character. The present villages are like heaps of dried manure strewn across illimitable plains, and about as sanitary.

ONE day I was told that Mr. Scoblo, of the Scientific Section of the High Council of Industry, was waiting to tell me the story of the H.O.S. Owing to a multitude of engagements I did not see him however. Subsequently I got fragments of the story from three persons at once, the secretary who spoke only Russian, the under-secretary who spoke French, and the under-under-secretary who spoke a language which the secretary assured me was English. It sounded more like Chinese. The interview was a funny business. Each of the three had a version of the story to tell. Each contradicted the other, and all three entered into long and fiery arguments over certain details, during which I slept.

THE essential bits of news that I gathered were as follows:—The H.O.S. was opened in 1923, especially for the use of scientists in all Russia, many of whom were in a terrible position. During the great famine period of 1921-1922 the scientists were starving. The universities remained open but the professors were without bread, books and instruments. During 1922 six hostels were opened by the Government, two near Moscow, two near Leningrad, one in the Crimea and one in the Caucasus. At these places scientists were able to get beds and meagre supplies of food. Altogether the six accommodated 2,000 persons, not a large number out of a total of 11,000 Russian scientists. At first they paid nothing for this relief, but after a time, as conditions improved, and they began to receive small university pay from the Government, they were expected to contribute towards their support.

THEN came the H.O.S. in 1923, for the use of scientists who came to Moscow from the provinces to study for their degrees and to lecture. To-day this hostel accommodates 70 scientists at a time. During the year it is used by

over 1,000. In addition they have the use of a club in Kropotkin Avenue (formerly, I think, a multi-millionaire's residence) where they can dine once a day in a hall of mirrors on two meagre dishes of unpalatable soup and a piece of leather, mis-called meat, at the lordly price of 1s. 3d. or thereabout. I noticed that many of them preferred a piece of coarse bread and cheese. All who use the club pay 13s. a year toward its upkeep. Such are facts showing what the Government had done and is doing for the scientists.

LIFE at the H.O.S. was a fairly amusing affair. It was mainly centred in the bedrooms which formed little colonies as it were with drifting populations of dignified, earnest men. Scientists came and scientists went, and you never knew when you parted from your room companions in the morning whom you would meet at night. Each day saw a fresh consignment drift in from distant parts, engage in a brief moment of study and self-revelation and depart. We were four in a room—a quite bare room save for four iron bedsteads insufficiently clothed, four wooden stands and four chairs, and a double window overlooking a dismal quay and a sad river, which we used as a pantry to contain our oddments of food and liquid with which we were obliged to provide ourselves, for there was nothing to be obtained in the place except hot water for making tea, Russian fashion, at 8 a.m. and 7 p.m. For this accommodation we paid 21s. per week.

OUR day began at 7 a.m. We marched in a body to four taps under which about twenty stout professors were trying to wash themselves at once. Then returning to the bedroom we collected our odds and ends of victuals from the window refrigerator and with our arms full of tins and packets containing tea, sugar, bread, &c., we descended to the hot water dispensary, called the breakfast room, where we proceeded to drown unoffending pinches of tea in gallons, or so it seemed, of boiling water. I think that this exciting beverage had a tendency to fly to the head for very soon the whole roomful of scientists, male and female, would be noisy with the discussion of every subject under the sun. Over their discoloured water, brown bread and cigarettes (for that is what practically the breakfast amounted to) learned and distinguished men surveyed the deeper matters of the New Russia with all the vigour which a meagre diet is known to stimulate. I noticed that no one had a bad word to say against the new regime. It is true that individuals showed a certain amount of dissatisfaction with it, but this came out in our bedroom talks. At the breakfast table the only allusion to politics that I heard was the question often put to me, "When do you think England will change?" It was as though they thought their life must remain a misery until England altered, or changed its Government.

We saw very little of each other during the day for we all had our exacting engagements to attend to. It was between five and seven that the colonists met in the bedroom and had their suppers and exchanged views. Moreover, I fancy they came together for warmth which was not to be got elsewhere in the deadly cold house, without overcoats and mufflers. Then it was that I was able to take the measurement of my fellow lodgers and to note their variety and their different characteristic habits.

I think I could write a book describing the marked "personalities" of the people who drifted in and out of the room. There was the metallurgist from Tiflis who glowed whenever he spoke of that Eldorado of metallurgical possibilities, but cooled down considerably when I showed him Government reports of alleged practical developments. There was the famous naval architect who became feverish whenever the soviet plans for shipbuilding on

a gigantic scale were discussed, but shook his head sadly when I told him of the Government's record of actual achievement. There was the doctor of medicine to whom I showed alluring vital statistics, who simply shrugged his shoulders and said that Russia was sick, no other people had such poverty of blood and nervous disorders. He told me facts about the miserable condition of the doctors. And so the processional was formed and passed. There was the aristocratic-looking professor of economics who travelled with his sheets and pillows and lay half the day on his bed smoking cigarettes and wrapt in silence as though trying to demonstrate that economics like tobacco ends in smoke. There was the earnest student who lay half the night reading books of deep import, and thoughtfully put a paper shade round the single light so as not to disturb the slumber of his fellow colonists. There was the lofty brow who paced the room for hours together wrestling with mighty problems. There was the shy professor who hid himself and his bed behind a screen of wearing apparel. And there was the giant from the country who came loaded up with so much farm and dairy produce for his own consumption that the room looked like Covent Garden Market at Christmas time.

I parted from each of my companions with regret. Perhaps some day I shall meet them again in those distant parts of Russia of which they spoke with so much affection. But I was not sorry to leave the House of Science. It was a hard place, speaking of a hard life. It told me as plainly as possible that such a life is lived by the Russian scientists.

HUNTLY CARTER.

P.S.—I have not mentioned names because the Soviet Government forbids Russians to give information to foreigners.

LE PLAY.

We make the following extracts from an article on Le Play by Mr. F. J. Gould in *COMRADESHIP AND WHEATSHEAF*.

"What," asked the French lecturer on the Science of Metals and Mining, "is the most important thing that comes out of a coal-mine?"

"Coal," replied the students.

"No," said the lecturer, Frederic Le Play, "the most important thing is the coal-miner."

In that remark he revealed himself as something higher than a teacher of Metallurgy and common "Science" ("Science" merely means orderly knowledge of Nature or Man). He revealed himself as a teacher of social science.

LE PLAY was born near Harfleur on the Norman coast on April 11th, 1806. He studied at Paris and at Havre. A most diligent explorer he was of things relating to the soil, the rocks, the minerals; but, as we have seen, he never forgot humanity. As a young fellow he gave his friend St. Leger, lessons, for which he took pay. But, after a while, he said: "St. Leger, you now know as much as I do, and, if I pretend to teach you more, you will be paying for nothing." He and St. Leger remained fast friends for life.

In a line or two, let us dispose of the official side of his career—Secretary of the School of Mines; Professor of Metallurgy; Inspector of Mines; Senator

under the Empire (Napoleon III.) ; Commissioner for France at the London Exhibition, 1862 ; founder, in 1856, of the Society of Social Economics.

THIS Frenchman was small of stature ; a stout walker ; willing to eat the most frugal meals, and to camp by starlight in the warmth of the fire of gathered branches. With St. Leger, or some other companion, or alone, he spent his summer seasons in the most remarkable way ever known to pleasure-seekers ; for, indeed, he sought pleasure, and he found it " The proper study of mankind is man," said the poet Pope. Le Play went about in a long series of years, studying man ; especially the man of industry, and the wife and child of the miner, bricklayer, mason, porter, ploughman, hedge-cutter, woodman, and the rest.

SOME learned gentlemen spend much time, not too usefully, in gazing at pictures and statues in galleries ; and they make notes, and call the curious stuff " Art Criticism " ; and the simple soul who looks with joy at Constable's pictures of mills and wagons may understand art better than these pompous gentry. Le Play followed the art of human description and portrayal. He wanted to show the world how the European workman lived, and what was his natural basis. For this purpose he travelled 210,000 miles, often on foot. He visited Germany, Belgium, Spain, England, Scotland, Ireland, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Turkey. In sunshine or tempest, heat or cold, he searched and researched. He interviewed employers, administrators, organisers, heads of institutions, and chiefly the artisans and peasants, making notes of the people's food, housing, customs, habits, recreations, and environment. He went on these pilgrimages of research for twenty-five years. He spoke readily five languages. His manner was homely and gen'l, and the very opposite of the dismal type known as Income Tax Officer or Bureaucrat.

IN 1855, he picked out from his notebooks, thirty-six examples, and published them in a volume on " European Workers," giving details of the industrial and home life and social surroundings. It was as if he held up a looking-glass to the European proletariat, quietly, scientifically and sympathetically, and said to Civilisation : " See here how your brethren live ! " He was not a socialist, not a communist, not an anarchist, not an agitator, not a leader, not a champion, not an orator. Le Play was a Prince, a very emperor, among investigators. He is rightly known as a sociologist. A study house in London (65 Belgrave Road, S.W.) has been named " Le Play House " in his honour.

LE PLAY was a Roman Catholic. He taught that a good life must rely upon God. Man, he said, was originally sinful. Men and women cannot live rightly, except under the rule of " Ten "—the Decalogue (" Remember the Sabbath," " Steal Not," &c.). In social life the family holds the central place. For industry, employers are needed ; it is their duty to provide useful work, and just wages, and " daily bread," and to guard the comfort and property of their workmen. Co-operative societies were a help and benefit but place must always be kept for " private enterprise." Le Play was so much in love with personal freedom that he disliked Government officialdom, and he opposed education in State schools. If people declaimed the " Rights of Man," and quoted with approval Rousseau's Social Contract doctrines, Le Play shrugged his philosophic shoulders in disdain.

LE PLAY died April 5th, 1882. A statue was erected in his memory in the Luxembourg Gardens, in Paris.

OBITUARY : FELICIA SCATCHERD.

News of the death of Miss Scatcherd comes on the eve of our going to press with this issue of the REVIEW. Long a friend of the sociological movement, and a member of the Society, Miss Scatcherd was elected to the Council in 1920. Through her intimate connexion with the East Indian Association, and its Journal, she helped to keep our Society in touch with Indian interests, and so promote that interchange of Occidental and Oriental thought, which has always been one of the aims of the Sociological Society. In the starting and maintenance of Leplay House, Miss Scatcherd gave much and invaluable assistance. And again when the Sociological Society was invited to co-operate with the School of Oriental Studies in organising the Congress of Religions at the Imperial Institute in 1924, Miss Scatcherd was fertile in useful suggestions and also gave not a little practical aid. To an extraordinarily vivid personality, overflowing with critical but always sympathetic thought, Miss Scatcherd added a power of intuition which, in its range and sureness, was almost uncanny. In practical affairs of the most varied kind, she was always ready with wise counsel, which she gave with generous abandonment of every personal impulse or interest. Of her general part in life it might truly be affirmed, what Mr. Augustine Birrell has said of Gladstone; for her part was "a foamy stream almost always in spate."

BOOK REVIEWS.

AU PAYS DE TAGORE : by Arthur Geddes, D. Litt. Montpellier. 1927.*

TAGORE's country lies to the north-west of Calcutta on the lower sun-baked slopes rising between the alluvial plain of the Bhaquirathi, that westernmost arm of the Ganges, and the hills of Bihar. There the poet, following his father the Maharshi Dehendra Nath, one of the founders of the Brahmo-Samaj, passed from the mystic inner vision of the latter to outward creative vision, and showed himself a poet not in words only but in deeds also.

DR. GEDDES has presented us here with a powerful drama, not the less but rather the more powerful because it is rationalised in scientific terms. It is a drama of natural Forces and Man; in which nature inflexibly acts upon man, who reacts upon nature as best he knows, and for the most part blindly. He is invariably visited by the consequences of his deeds. Recurrent waves of civilisation form a changing but effective background. Then Man, vanquished by poverty, disease and utterly demoralised, loses heart and rapidly retreats in sloth, dirt and misery, leaving the country for all purposes a desert of wasteland and pestilential marshes. But next, in this utter rout of Man, arises the Poet, the man of Vision and Deeds, who with no other weapon than his brains, a loving heart, a sweet but firm will, undertakes single-handed or nearly so the salvation of his forlorn country. Dr. Geddes leaves us at what we hope are but the incipient stages of the renaissance of Western Bengal, and on a note both of hope and warning.

THE author shows us Western Bengal in full decay. He analyses successively the Environment, the Function and the Organism (Place, Work, Folk), and its manifold actions and reactions, as well as the coincident and reciprocal process of Folk through Work on Place. We see in a rapid but substantial synthesis the landscape and the primitive condition of the country, the settlement by man, the clearing of the jungle, too indiscriminate, alternations of prosperity and stagnation produced by various civilisations and periods of peace and war. Gradually, however, but with quickening rhythm there appear the denudations of the shorn slopes, the encroachment of the waste laterite lands, the disease and vagaries, then the slow agony and death of rivers, even some of the most powerful, the silting of the banks, the scarcity of water and the destructive floods, the spreading of the marshes, the falling of the water level, the reduction of the fertility of the soil.

CONCURRENTLY with the new civilisation and the shifting of centres of economic importance, with new requirements and processes of supply, the old order crumbles to dust. Old local industries and crafts die out in the villages, leaving the ryot with but one half of his scanty resources and an increasing dependence on big centres. And at times too bureaucratic collection of taxes in bad years favoured usury and reduced the peasant to a state of helplessness and consequent sloth, dirt and physiological misery. The ground is ready for disease, any disease. All the conditions are present and seem to call for it. Malaria supervenes, which wipes out half the population of the district leaving the other half in utter despair or sullen resignation to Fate,

*Dr. Arthur Geddes, the author of this Doctorate Thesis, was sometime a lecturer in Tagore's University at Santiniketan. Dr. Geddes is not to be confused with Professor Geddes (his father).—Editor, SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

almost deprived of the wish to live. Villages dwindle to mere crumbling ruins, some disappear, towns wane to sleepy villages. The decay gradually spreads and threatens what are now, or were recently, prosperous areas, affecting even the big towns.

THIS sorry state of affairs, has, of course, not escaped the notice of the authorities, as shown in the abundant literature quoted in the book, and various remedies are devised and applied. But the inevitable lack of contact of the two isolated and merely passing officials with the poor people, the paralysing of their well meant efforts by the political dissensions of the last decade, a hypnotic concentration of the urban "literati" on mere political issues as panaceas, their own lack of touch with the peasants and the villages, their very education as literati aloof from Nature and real issues and values, all combined to deprive the remedies of most of their efficacy.

Now comes the poet—Tagore, himself—attracted there by pious memories. He realises the situation and visualises it dramatically by intuition and synthesis more than by technical details and scientific logic of facts. He senses the remedy, and sets to work calling for goodwill and voluntary technical help, organising and driving, inspiring his staff with his own vision and faith. This will be the crowning work of his life. By understanding, sympathy and patience, by daily and intimate contact, he conquers the love and confidence of the poor. Brotherly service and practical example, a magnetic personality revivifying the dying embers of idealism, form the right appeal to the villagers.

His aim and immediate ideals are sedulously kept within reach of the poor ryot. Though pecuniary resources are inadequate, school and dispensary, scouting and drama, co-operation in all its forms, organisation of the villages in themselves and in groups, an appeal at once to the heart, the brain and the pocket, to material and ideal interests, to religion, tradition and health, a patient tuition and the sharing of the humble task, combine to produce results. Soon petty disputes, paralysing caste and religion and other prejudices give way to common work. A new heart is inspired in the people, and a new will to live. The Ashram is followed by the farm, the research institute, the University. Although this centre is only some five years old, and its action only local, its appeal is spreading. More ambitious plans are contemplated, encouraged by this initial success.

DR. GEDDES has shown a real grasp of the intricate web of action and reaction, of the geographical, economic and social factors and has handled them individually in a most competent way. He has shown himself at once a geographer, a sociologist and a town-planner. His substantial synthesis of a case which is bound to interest the Authorities, at a time when an Agricultural Commission is about to sit on precisely such problems in India, should be most welcome, and such views should receive attention when an agricultural renaissance is expected from the special sympathy of a Viceroy known as particularly interested in such matters at home. An elaboration and development of this book in English is contemplated and should form a most useful contribution to the discussion of agricultural questions in India. It is to the honour of the Scots College founded by Professor Patrick Geddes near Montpellier that this valuable work should have been matured and written in that inspiring atmosphere.

M. H.

RIDDLES OF MYTHOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

MYTH IN PRIMITIVE PSYCHOLOGY: by B. Malinowski.

FEE, FI, FO, FUM, THE GIANTS IN ENGLAND: by H. J. Massingham.

THE HUNTER IN OUR MIDST: by R. Lowe Thompson.

All published by Kegan Paul, 1926.

OUR contemporary, PSYCHE, is doing good work in bringing out this interesting series of "Psyche Miniatures," each fresh and bright, compact and brief; inexpensive, too, and thus in every way a series deserving success, and doubtless earning it.

THE three books above named may best be read in the order given; for Dr. Malinowski's treatment is so far a following of Sir James Frazer's, yet also a largely fresh attempt to discuss the role of myth in life, and to illustrate this from personal knowledge of a simple community, the Trobrianders of New Guinea. He well brings out the current babel of myth-interpreters' opinions, deriding the old nature-mythologists, and admitting no great value to historical interpretations either, but insisting that "the immense services to primitive culture performed by myth are done in connection with religious ritual, moral influence, and sociological principle." So after making short work of the many older lines of myth interpretation, he claims leadership for anthropologists, and shows us savage myth "not merely as a story told, but a reality lived."

"Studied alive, myth, as we shall see, is not symbolic, but a direct expression of its subject-matter; it is not an explanation in satisfaction of a scientific interest, but a narrative resurrection of a primeval reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral cravings, social submissions, assertions, even practical requirements. Myth fulfils in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilisation; it is not an idle tale, but a hard-worked active force; it is not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom."

THIS important thesis is next illustrated from the life of his interesting savage folk, especially for origins and for the cycle of life and its close with death, and finally with myths of magic. Myth is thus considered as an indispensable element of all culture; and as a constant by-product of living faith, of sociological status and moral rule. These conclusions imply a new method of treating the science of folk-lore, in relation to ritual, social life and culture: far from being an idle mental pursuit, it is a vital ingredient of practical relation to the environment. Finally, then, as at the outset, our author's views are claimed as confirming Frazer's.

MR. MASSINGHAM's treatment is as lively as his title, and he gives us vigorous and varied applications and developments of the interesting viewpoints of myth due to Prof. Elliot Smith and Mr. W. J. Perry. He maintains their insistence on the diffusion of civilisation from Egypt; and also their theory and the intimate connection of the advance of culture along with the quest of gold, cowrie shells, and other objects credited with life-giving properties. The ancient divinity of kings, the gods of the ancient mariners, the giants of old England, the career of the dragon, and the inquiry "Who was Merlin?" make up a fascinating series of chapters. But clearly to relate the ideas and methods of this volume to those of the preceding one is a puzzle we must leave to their authors and readers.

Mr. THOMPSON's point is a fresh and interesting one and affords a useful addition to Prof. Carveth Read's larger study of "Primitive Hunters." Each writer and book might have been helped by knowledge of the other. Hunting methods are distinguished as active and passive, with divergent evolution of hunters accordingly; which he compares to the similar evolution of the sexes, and thence to the analogous dichotomy of allied species and groups through nature. The active hunters or "wolf-men," the passive hunters or "cat-folk," are each interestingly discussed in their ways of life, and types of mind: and the final chapter not only speculates on their respective development in the remote past, but insists on their continued persistence throughout history, and thus into the life and action of the present day.

P. G.

**FORTSCHRITT UND SOZIALE ENTWICKLUNG : GESCHICHTS-
PHILOSOPHISCHE ANSICHTEN :** von Ferdinand Tönnies.
verlag Braun in Karlsruhe, 1926.

**PROGRESS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT : HISTRICO-PHILO-
SOPHIC VIEWS :** by Ferdinand Tönnies.

THIS volume contains five essays by the learned Professor Tönnies of Kiel (the author of a large number of other sociological and philosophical works), entitled

1. The Individual and the World in Modern Times.
2. Conceptions of Human Progress.
3. Suggestions for the Study of Human Development.
4. International Opinion, Literature and Religion.
5. Summary.

of which the first three have already appeared in print.

THE idea running through all these learned essays seems to be that development is not synonymous with progress, that indeed most of the phenomenon of modern life are not favourable to the growth of the individual, that the world does not improve as it gets more populous. Prof. Tönnies treats the development of the town life as against that of the village, of the growth of the states, of internationalism, of racial hatreds, of the emancipation of women, of the growth of religious ideas, of international relationship. Throughout he takes the pessimistical view; he deplores the decay of the village and the individual craftsman, he has not much that is favourable to say on the effect on society of emancipated women. He seems to consider it extremely unlikely that nations will ever live at peace with each other, and almost ignores the work of the League of Nations. His attitude towards organised religion is distinctly hostile, treating it as darkening the spirit of man. He instances the view of ordinary man towards coloured races as depressing instances of racial antagonism. It cannot, therefore, be considered a cheerful or inspiring book. Did one not know that a professor of his reputation could not write without having made an exclusive study of the subject, one could be inclined to look upon it as a superficial summary of the pessimistic conclusions of other German philosophers, soured by the results of the Great War and the consequent hardships of Germany.

THE book is well printed and got up, but it lacks an index and sub-headings to each essay.

O. F.

**GESCHICHTE DER INTERNATIONALEN GENOSSENSCHAFTS-
WEBEGUNG:** von Prof. Dr. Hans Müller, hemaliger Generalsekretär
des Internationalen Genossenschaftsbundes.

**HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE MOVE-
MENT:** by Prof. Dr. Hans Müller, formerly Chief Secretary of the
International Co-operative Alliance. 276 pp. Published by H. Meyer,
Halberstadt, 1924.

THIS substantial volume is the first of a series of monographs and reports on Social questions in general, and on the Co-operative movement in particular, brought out by the University of Halle (under the direction of Dr. Grunfeld) where a University Department in that subject has been started. The next two volumes of the series are to be translated from the writings of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, while the fourth volume is to be a description of the Co-operative Movement in Germany by Dr. Alfred Oppenheimer. The one before us traces in detail the history of International Co-operation from its beginnings at a Congress in London in 1895 to the present day, mainly through summaries of the proceedings at the numerous International Congresses held in these twenty years. Dr. Müller summarises in a masterly fashion the development of the ideas which appeared to dominate the leaders of the International Co-operative movement at different stages. While he is a fair and impartial historian, so far as one can judge, he does not hesitate to criticise methods and resolutions which appear to him either unpractical or hampering. Though he himself is clearly in agreement with the modern tendencies of the International Co-operative Alliance to become more and more an Alliance of Consumers' and Distributive Co-operative Societies, he is very fair to the earlier workers in the Alliance, like Holyoake, Vansittart Neale, Greening, Prof. Gide, etc., whose ideal was Co-operation carried out in profit-sharing or co-partnership workshops extending to all workers in the movement. Their idealism, it is true, almost wrecked the movement for an International Alliance. Yet one cannot but read regretfully of the gradual narrowing of the vision of a real "Commonwealth" where all the workers should get a fair share of the profits of their labour to the present attitude of the average Co-operative Society which sees very little beyond the "Divi." and is indeed often in conflict with its own workers. On the other hand, the International Co-operative Alliance must be credited with a wider outlook since the War than that of the average politician or business man. Scarcely was the War over, when Co-operators in England, France and Belgium came together to see what of international trade and intercourse could be built up again. Their efforts resulted in the holding of an International Congress at Basle in August, 1921, under the leadership of M. Albert Thomas (France), where besides the Allied nations, neutral States, also Germany and Austria, Hungary, Esthonia and the Ukraine were represented when the new world conditions were boldly faced, fresh officers elected, and some useful resolutions passed. But the real gain of the Congress was the meeting together of representatives of all the nations in friendly discussions and the affirmation of their detestation of War. It is surely hopeful for the future of Civilisation to find the representatives of such an enormous electorate coming practically from all the countries of the world finding a common meeting ground in the discussion of practical trade and labour problems and getting to know each other's ideas and uniting in their opposition to War and War policies.

It is quite impossible in a short review to summarise this really learned book. It is by far the best and most authoritative work on the International

Co-operative Movement that has yet been published either in English, French or German, and will probably remain so for some years to come. At the same time it is to be regretted that Dr. Hans Müller has not provided the book with a really complete index, so that references to certain Congresses for instance could easily be found. It would further be of great assistance to the ordinary reader if marginal headings could be introduced, or at any rate, sub-headings at the beginning of each chapter with corresponding numbered paragraphs, or perhaps only headings at the top of the pages to facilitate the work of the searcher after knowledge on this very important subject.

O. FLETCHER.

THE DYING PEASANT AND THE FUTURE OF HIS SONS: by
J. W. Robertson Scott. Williams and Norgate. (Price 10s. 6d.)

MR. ROBERTSON SCOTT has drawn together in this book much valuable information about rural conditions, with special reference to the life of the farm workers of England and Scotland.

THE opening chapters are sketches of English village life: somewhat imaginative in their treatment, they are far truer in essence than the more technically accurate analysis of realistic writers. Towards the end of the book are chapters describing the life and conditions of the farm servants of Scotland. These two sections are admirable: the information about Scotland, an undiscovered country to most English rural sociologists, is especially valuable.

THE remaining chapters are of far less value; they consist of miscellaneous information collected from official sources, from books, from the writer's own observations and from the talk and writings of various individuals. The value of such a gathering together of facts and opinions depends on what selections are made from the mass of information available and how it is arranged. It is in his selections and arrangement that the author appears to the writer to fail. With, apparently, but slight training as a social observer, and a somewhat limited knowledge of history, the writer accepts what he sees, hears and reads without much power of analysis. He seems, moreover, to be constantly raising fundamental issues only to turn his back upon them. What exactly is the value of such a method it is difficult to understand: at the present time we do not need restatement of problems, but constructive suggestions for their solutions. There are courteous references to the policy advocated by the Committee that investigated the Rural Problem from Leplay House: but owing to the writer's characteristic avoidance of solutions the reader is informed neither of the character of the policy advocated, nor how it is proposed to apply it: he does not think his book is the place to deal with this matter.

THE reader searching for knowledge will find much that is valuable in this book, but when he has read it, he will be, it is feared, in a chaotic state of mind as to what ought to be done to improve conditions and remedy the specific evils described. Nevertheless the book should be read for the sake of the opening descriptions, the chapters on Scotland and its general information.

M. F.

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND LIFE: THE GOLDEN DAY. Lewis Mumford. New York. Bain and Livewright. 1926. (\$2.50).

HERE is a book which has been going the rounds of the present reviewers' circle; and as it returns, they find all have been informed by it, stirred by it, hence also delighted with it. It is the best sustained comprehensive critique of literature we have seen for long, and with the advantage of being substantially up to the current time. It seems to us fully on the level of the best French critics, who have so long been interpreting literature as the voice of its times: indeed, even an advance upon them, through having a yet clearer idea of the significance of the times we have been living through, and for the needs, if not altogether the tendencies, of those we are entering on. In short, then, here is not simply a bright and vivid retrospect of American literature, with appreciative yet keenly critical treatment of its salient contemporary outcomes as well: it is also a substantial contribution towards these, justifying the critic's task of assay and evaluation of what is most significant, and with stimulus and guidance to new writers towards what the world wants—or rather needs!

So outspoken a book, with its trenchant treatment of not a few eminent writers and thinkers, as viewed afresh from the writer's later standpoint, must doubtless be under active fire in America in its turn: and of the controversies we thus trust it is arousing we shall not offer guesses here. Let us rather invite Mr. Mumford to come over for a time to this side of the water, and do something of the like for English literature, and for French too. Thus in time a fine trilogy: and an active bid towards good part at least of the succession of George Brandes. For despite all difficulties, the world is unifying as well as diversifying: and the critic's task, at highest and deepest, is with comparative literature.

MEANTIME, indeed, the reader on this side will often find, in this boldly sketched survey of American literature, suggestive parallels to movements in our own. The opening chapter on "the Origins of the American mind" is a broad and fundamentally European survey; and that on "the Romanticism of the Pioneer" begins by saying that "while the pioneer has usually been looked upon as a typical product of the American environment, the truth is that he existed in the European mind before he made his appearance here. Pioneering may in part be described as the Romantic movement in action." Again "The Golden Day" is similarly traced from its earlier roots, from which Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman flower all the clearer; and with Hawthorne and Melville still golden in its twilight. "The Pragmatic Acquiescence" after the Civil War expresses the demolition of that older American culture.

"ON one side lay the Golden Day, the period of an Elizabethan daring on the sea, of a well-balanced adjustment of farm and factory in the East, of a thriving regional culture, operating through the lecture-lyceum and the provincial college; an age in which the American mind had flourished and had begun to find itself. When the curtain rose on the post-bellum scene, this old America was for all practical purposes demolished. Industrialism had entered overnight, had transformed the practices of agriculture, had encouraged a mad exploitation of mineral oil, natural gas, and coal, and had made the unscrupulous master of finance, fat with war-profits, the central figure of the situation. All the crude practices of British paleotechnic industry appeared on the new scene without relief or mitigation."

IN the already "broken rhythm of American life, with its high-brows and low-brows, its Edwardses and Franklins, its transcendentalists and empiricists"

the gap thus widened, and with victory of the Philistines; leaving at most but a gilded age for literature. For with this eclipse of older endeavours to realise the ideal, came new writers to idealise the real: Howells and Mark Twain for familiar examples in very different ways. Here, too, we come to one of the salient features of the book—its presentment of William James and his pragmatism, as standing essentially for the spirit of that age, albeit at its best: and so, despite all his and its eminent merits, sharing its limitations too. Next comes "the Pillage of the Past"; i.e., the attempts towards softening the contemporary paleotechnic and pecuniary culture by importation from the European heritage of art, and these even by the predatory millionaires themselves, indicating a spirit which Henry James and Henry Adams exposed more finely in their writings. But as all this could neither be adequately rooted nor grafted in America, and as the expansive land-adventure was also closing, the interest in industrial processes increased and intensified: so "the Edisons and Carnegies come to take the place in the popular imagination once occupied by Buffalo Bill." With machine-industry and finance thus in supreme power, the vast mechanical accretion "of new Universities appeared as a by-product." In short, "the Shadow of the Muck-rake" fell over this period: and its literature is thus reviewed as mostly at best of protest and towards "reform" yet without catharsis: witness Upton Sinclair for most familiar type, when not simply descriptively critical, as with Mr. Dreiser. This chapter culminates in an acute critique of Prof. Dewey and his philosophy: and both its appreciation of qualities and its criticism of limitations appear to us well and truly done.

FINALLY comes our writer's "Envoi"; with its questionings and hopes, even to recognition, as at least incipient of "a new stream of tendency in American life," and this as "we begin again to dream Thoreau's dream—of what it means to live a whole human life."

"It is not that our instrumental activities are mean: far from it: but that life is mean when it is entirely absorbed in instrumental activities. Beneath the organised vivacity of our American communities, who is not aware of a blankness, sterility, a boredom, a despair? . . . The power to escape from this sinister world can come only by the double process of encountering more complete modes of life, and of reformulating a more vital tissue of ideas and symbols to supplant those which have led us into the stereotyped interests and actions which we endeavour in vain to identify with a full human existence. We must rectify the abstract framework of ideas which we have used, in lieu of a full culture, these last few centuries. In part, we shall achieve this by a criticism of the past, which will bring into the foreground those things that have been left out of the current scheme of life and thought. Mr. N. A. Whitehead's *SCIENCE AND THE MODERN WORLD*, and Mr. Victor Branford's *SCIENCE AND SANCTITY*, are landmarks towards this new exploration; for they both suggest the groundwork of a philosophy which shall be oriented as completely towards life as the dominant thought since Descartes has been directed towards the Machine. To take advantage of our experience and our social heritage and to help in creating this new idolom is not the smallest adventure our generation may know. It is more imaginative than the dreams of the transcendentalist, more practical than the work of the pragmatists, more drastic than the criticisms of the old social revolutionists, and more deeply cultural than all our early attempts to possess the simulacra of culture. It is nothing less than the effort to conceive a new world."

"Allons! the road is before us!"

Is not this long quotation well in place within the pages of this REVIEW; since for so many of its writers and readers well summarising its problem and its endeavour?

P. G. and G. S.

CRIME AND CUSTOM IN SAVAGE SOCIETY: by B. Malinowski.

It has for long been a weakness of anthropologists that they have, while creating a Science of Man, classified their subjects as inanimate specimens, as mere units in a system of almost mathematical regularity. Two of their rules in particular have vitiated many conclusions, prevented many advances. The first is the unhappy doctrine that individuals in primitive races are moved entirely by "group instinct," "instinctive submission to tribal laws," "communistic sentiments," or some such motive. The second is the statement that the only law such races know is criminal law. Of these the first and more serious arises from a fundamental misunderstanding of human nature, the second from lack of personal observation. Dr. Malinowski has in his latest book* struck what may prove the death blow to these two theories. It is, as he says himself, the outcome of a fieldworker's yielding to the temptation of presenting the results of his own observations against the background of a general theory of primitive culture. It forms an expansion of a paper read before the Royal Institution in February, 1925, and is confined in its survey to one ethnographic province, the Trobriand Archipelago in north-west Melanesia.

IN the first part the author deals with the general aspects of law and order in this quarter of Melanesia. He brings this community under the microscope of the fieldworker's personal observation, and shows that the institutions and actions usually attributed to primitive man's natural communism are in reality due to the play of two far more comprehensible forces. The first of these is a complicated interaction of reciprocal rights and duties based on an ever-recurring duality. In the relations of tribe with tribe, of kinship group with kinship group, of individual with individual, we find that the principle of mutuality supplies the sanction for each rule. "There is in every act a sociological dualism: two parties who exchange services and functions, each watching over the measure of fulfilment and the fairness of conduct of the other." So individuals or tribes will perform laborious services not under the influence of some transcendental doctrine of clan loyalty, but because they know that such services are in payment of past and a guarantee of future benefits. The second compelling sanction in primitive social life is the desire of the individual for reputation among his fellows—very much the same force that in England secures the payment of debts of honour. We may take, as an illustration of both influences, the native under the matrilineal system working hard at his garden for the support, not of his own sons, but of those of his sister. In this he is actuated by no mystic impulse but by the knowledge that he will earn the future help of his nephews in work and war, and will also win the reputation of a good citizen and of a worthy head of a flourishing family. From these facts the conclusion is reached that, contrary to established views, civil law is extremely well developed and that it governs all aspects of social organisation. The rules of this law are maintained by rational and elastic forces, and are in the main the concern of the individual.

THE second part of the book is concerned with crime and its punishment, with crime, that is, arising mainly from the clash between matriliney and paternal interest, and between clan solidarity and the claims of the individual. Although in such a clash the fundamental principles of primitive organisation are involved, the community as a whole plays very little part in punishing the criminal. It is the injured party who has to arouse public opinion by

*CRIME AND CUSTOM IN SAVAGE SOCIETY. Kegan Paul. 5s.

publicly denouncing the crime and to inflict the punishment by forcing the culprit to suicide. Group reaction is not the active principle even in the extreme case of a breach of exogamy; for the community, although on appeal it will side with custom, is, until appeal, tolerant, neither is the supernatural sanction, for there exists a regular system of magic to undo any evil consequences of clan incest. In the same way breaches of less important customs are punished not by the community but by the sorcerer, and it is again the injured party who must invoke his help. The sorcerer, indeed, forms one of the chief supports of savage custom, and Europeans, in persecuting him, have gone far to disintegrate primitive society. The universal belief in his powers gives him much of the moral authority of the mediæval Church, and this authority is usually exercised on the side of law. In cases of crime these two sanctions, suicide and sorcery, both in their nature individual, are the usual punitive agents.

DR. MALINOWSKI has in this short work rendered a great service to anthropology—a service which could only have been rendered by a fieldworker possessing wide actual experience of native life and customs. That a work of this kind should have been necessary to show that primitive man is governed by the same emotions and reacts to the same stimuli as his civilised relation, that a generalisation in a study may not govern savages in a canoe, that there is as much discrepancy between preaching and practice in Melanesia as elsewhere, is a reflection on anthropology; the careful, simple and adequate execution of the book makes us deeply indebted to the author.

G. D.

LABOR ECONOMICS: by Solomon Blum, Ph. D. New York: Holt and Co. 1925.

THIS is a lengthy and somewhat ponderous work, and cannot be recommended for any superficial attractions of style; nevertheless it will be found interesting by those willing to persevere in its perusal, and it is certainly of value as a survey of a large field of facts. The author gives us an account of various social forces, such as trade unionism, labour legislation, the collectivist programme, drawing a comparison between their workings in the U.S.A. and in Great Britain respectively, and with occasional references to other countries. It is a great boon to students to have this varied information brought together; and the author shows himself fair and moderate in his statements. He apparently is not a socialist, but neither is he a hard and fast opponent of collectivist measures. He points out that present failures in Government management do not necessarily involve similar failure in the future, if a more scientific procedure and expert methods were adopted. "Utopia reasoning" may be weak, but, all the same, "such reasoning is a necessary factor in social development, for we cannot assume that society is entirely mechanistic and beyond the control of men" (p. 525). A specially clear and lucid statement of opposing views occurs in Dr. Blum's criticism of the practice of restricting output. While arguing that the "lump of work" idea is fallacious and that restriction cannot be beneficial over a long period, he shows that under the present condition of the labour market the worker often *can* plan only for the short run, not for the long. He also points out that restriction has other grounds than the "lump of work" fallacy, as for instance, the justifiable desire for protection against over-driving and excessive speed, and that the practice is in itself a result of the conflict of interests in industry, and is not more chargeable to employed than to employers (p. 370).

B. L. H.

GEDDES: THE INTERPRETER: THE MAN AND HIS GOSPEL.
By Amelia Defries. Routledge. 1927.

THIS book deserves success and will do valuable service. The author has at various times been associated with some of Geddes' undertakings. She has enthusiastic admiration for himself and his teachings, and has spared no effort to survey his many activities and to give a summary of his far-reaching views. She writes in a vivid impressionist way, presenting in each chapter some aspect of her subject, which is illustrated by quotations from conversations, lectures, letters and published writings. The book is not so much a biography as an anecdotal appreciation; and as such it is very well done. Mr. Lewis Mumford contributes a characteristic preface; the late Israel Zangwill has given a valuable critical introduction; and a final chapter contains appreciations by Zangwill, Professor J. Arthur Thomson, Professor Patrick Abercrombie, Mr. H. V. Lanchester, and Sir Chimanol Setalvad.

PATRICK GEDDES has always devoted himself to promoting better conditions for the life of the present and future generations, and has taught that everything whatever must be viewed and designed in relation to fulness and beauty of life. This ardent intention, of an exceedingly subtle mind, working through very varied experience, has brought him on every side up against existing customs and institutions, in so far as these are undirected to, or transgress against, the immediate and living welfare of local society. Manifold injuries, such as political oppression, bureaucratic ineptitude, our life-crushing industrialism and mind-destroying education, and many others also, appear to him as the intimately related effects of one definite cause, namely, a stunting of the general intelligence by its restriction to concepts taken from the world of physics and mechanics as distinguished from the world of living things; and this mental defect is regarded as being mainly the result of undue industrial and urban concentration, and of its political and metropolitan centralisation. Let us occupy ourselves therefore, says he, with life itself, which consists in the actions and reactions between people and their work and their place; let us labour to heighten and enrich this local and regional existence; and let us ourselves live to the utmost, using every faculty and waking to every interest, and learning thus by living. With the gradual opening of the general mind to such concepts of life, and with the growing sense that every activity and interest is in the first place a function of all-round life and is in order to higher life, there will come, and is already coming, a large measure of release from the injustices of the past. This is the central idea of all the various intellectual, practical and aesthetic activities and initiatives with which Geddes has been associated. There are many indications that his conception and methods are likely to become dominant in the next generation. For that reason, as well as for its great intrinsic interest, Miss Defries' book deserves reading, and will be welcome to many who, amid the confusions of to-day, seek a luminous interpretation of the present toward the moulding of the future. And in the same sense, Geddes' present work at Montpellier greatly deserves study at first hand, where he is not only teaching and writing, but is developing one college after another in connection with the university and as a *cité universitaire*, for students from all parts of the world, who thus in addition to their academic training may become inspired by this higher, more synthetic and more practical doctrine. In the surrounding country also, he is initiating a bold movement for the revival of village life and culture. We congratulate Miss Defries on a work of personal devotion which is also a public service.

G. S.